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PROCEEDINGS
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THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY
TO
DECEMBER, 1905.

VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

1905.

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HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.
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PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

1905.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

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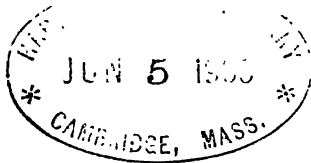
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PROCEEDINGS
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THE SOCIETY
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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1905.

First Meeting, January 11th, 1905.

F. LEGGE, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

—*—

The Council deeply regret the death of F. D. MOCATTA, ESQ., *F.S.A.*, who for many years has been a Vice-President of the Society.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, Prof. Dr. E. Schwartz.—“Zur Geschichte des Athanasius.”

From the Author, G. Legrain.—“Notes prises à Karnak.”

„ „ „La statuette funéraire de Ptahmos.”

„ „ „Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak, 1902-3.”

„ Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—“The Excavations at Abusir, Egypt.”

„ J. W. Thirtle.—“The Titles of the Psalms.”

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

Dr. E. Trana, Göthenberg.

Dr. Platt, Hall Place, Maida Vale.

J. W. Thirtle, Esq., 23, Borthwick Road, Stratford, E.

Monr. L. Leroy, Angers, France.

The following Paper was read :—

DR. PINCHES: “Nina and Nineveh.”

The subject was discussed by Mr. Offord, Rev. J. Tuckwell, Mr. Sibree, and the Chairman. Dr. Pinches replied.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

DONATION FUND.

The following Donations were announced :—

				£	s.	d.
T. Christy, Esq.	5	0	0
J. Pollard, Esq.	5	0	0
F. Legge, Esq.	5	0	0
W. H. Rylands, Esq.	5	0	0
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E. S. M. Perowne, Esq.	1	1	0
W. Morrison, Esq.	5	0	0
Dr. Gaster	2	2	0

The Council's Report for 1904, and the Statement of Accounts, were adopted and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were voted to the Council and Officers for their services during the past year.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1904.

In presenting their Report at the beginning of the 35th Session of the Society, the Council have to deplore the loss by death of three home Members and one foreign one during the past year. Of these, Mr. S. Arthur Strong, Librarian to the House of Lords and Professor of Arabic at the University College of London, was formerly a Member of the Council; Major-General Forlong was well known as a writer on the history of Religions; and Sir W. T. Charley had published an account of his travels in the Holy Land and Egypt and Syria so recently as two years ago: while in Professor Dr. Piehl the University of Upsala and the world in general have lost a most distinguished Egyptologist.

As against these losses the Society has received many valuable additions in the shape of new Members elected during the past year, and the number of Members and subscribing Libraries now stands at 410, or five more than in January last. Although the increase is small, it has been steady, and it is hoped that the time may not be very far distant when it may be possible to increase the strength of the Society, by charging a moderate entrance fee on the admission of new Members.

In other respects, the financial position of the Society is more satisfactory than it has been for some time. On January 1st, 1904, the Society was indebted to the printer alone in the sum of £258 10s. 6d., not including therein work done, for which accounts had not been rendered. The whole of this has now been cleared off, and the Society's debt to its printer consists merely of the cost of the December *Proceedings*, which, it is estimated, will not exceed £25. This result has only been reached by the most strenuous exertions on the part of the Secretary—to whom the Council feel that very special thanks are due—and to the wise caution that he has exercised in the selection of Papers to be printed. The Council earnestly hope that, now that this difficult corner has been turned, the Members will prevent the necessity for such unusual exertions and sacrifice on the part of their officials in future, and that, by their response to the appeal for donations issued with this Report they will secure the maintenance of the Society in its present excellent position.

The Papers read before the Society and printed in the *Proceedings* will, it is believed, be found to be well up to the level of former years, while pains have been taken to make them as representative as possible of the different branches of Archæology.

Without referring further to those constant contributors whose names are familiar to the Society, it may be well to specially mention the Papers of those whose contributions appear in the *Proceedings* for the first time, such as the "Sabidic Biblical Fragments in the Bodleian Library," by Mr. E. O. Winstedt ; and the "Ivory Diptych in the British Museum," by Mr. O. M. Dalton. Attention may also be drawn to the Papers by such distinguished foreigners as M. Victor Loret, the former Director of the Service des Antiquités in Egypt, and Professor Dr. E. Mahler, of the University of Buda-Pesth. So long as our *Proceedings* continue to receive such recruits, it is felt that they can challenge comparison with the work of the Society at any earlier time.

In conclusion the Council would strongly urge upon the Members the necessity for their obtaining from time to time proper candidates for election. It is only by this means that the continuance of the Society can be assured, and that the annual loss by death and resignation can be repaired. The work which the Society has done and is doing, its entire freedom from all sectarian and other bias, and the small demand it makes upon its Members, seem all to be grounds upon which persons interested in its objects may be asked to join it.



The following Council and Officers for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1905.

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THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON.

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Honorary Librarian.

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THE GOD ASSHUR AND THE EPIC OF "MARDUK AND TIAMAT."

By SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S.*

(Continued from Vol. XXVI, page 282.)

If An Shar be only a somewhat clumsy way of representing the *sound* Asshur, it is no use analysing it into its elements An and Shar, (which no doubt mean host of heaven), with the hope of reaching any conclusion of value. It apparently was so analysed, however, by the scribe in one line of the very artificial genealogy of the gods given in the beginning of the first tablet of the series Enuma-ilis, apparently forgetful that in a genealogy, generic and collective names are unintelligible. Having been so analysed as An-Shar "the host of heaven" it was necessary according to the fashion of the times to find him a quite artificial partner in Ki-Shar, the host of earth; the two never being named together in any other passage known to me. Damaskios goes a step further by giving a Greek masculine termination to the former *Ασσορος* and a feminine one to the latter *Κισσαρε*, showing that this author differentiated their sexes. The two names seem to me evidently interpolated, and formed no part of the original story. As Père Lagrange shrewdly says, "La recension babylonienne publiée par Delitzsch (p. 23) met Anou aussitôt après Lakhmou et rien ne prouve qu'Anchar était caché dans une lacune, d'autant que la ligne 12 du text babylonien interrompt le parallelisme. Damascius, qui considère Kissaros et Assōros comme une troisième génération les rattache directement à Tavthe (Tiamat) et à Apason (Apsou), ce qui montre encore leur aspect surrogataire" (*op. cit.*, 326 note). Again he says, "Nous ne voulons point encore exclure un mythe populaire primitif; mais il faut du moins concluer nettement que la pensée du poète est miancée avec art. Anchar et Kichar ont peut-être été introduits comme une gradation nécessaire. Anou, Bel et Éa étaient trop connus comme seigneurs du ciel, de l'air avec la terre, et de l'eau, pour qu'on songeat à changer leur caractère; mais ils ne pouvaient être concus, ni par

conséquent exister, tant qu'il n'y avait haut ni bas, à quoi répond le couple Anchar et Kichar. Jastrow et Loisy * * * * reconnaient qu'ici du moins la syzygie a un caractère artificiel" (*id.*, 327, note). This duplication of the names of early cosmic deities and of quite fantastic creations formed by attempted interpretations of names written in ideographs instead of treating them as purely syllabic representations of foreign sounds, was quite the fashion in late times among the homely theologians of Babylonia. Thus in another, doubtless a late, tablet, we have a considerable list of such names, and in each case they are equated with the God and Goddess of heaven. This tablet is published in R. II, pl. 54 and III, pl. 69. They run as follows:—

The Sky	(is)	the God Anu.
The Earth	"	the Goddess Annuit.
The sky and earth	are	Annu and Anunit.
Urash and Nin Urash	"	" "
Anshargal and Kishargal	"	" "
Inishar and Ninshar	"	" "
Du uru and Da uru	"	" "
Lukhma and Lukhama	"	" "
Alala and Tillili	"	" "
Eni uru ulla and Nin ura ulla	"	" "

In this list the particle *gal*, *great*, is added to each of the names Anshar and Kishar, while the same names recur duplicated in another form, namely Inishar and Ninshar. Lakhma and Lakhama again, as in the beginning of the so-called Creation tablet, are an artificial pair of names and have been created out of an older common name. In early times the name was a generic one for certain kinds of winged monsters stationed as guardians of gates; thus Agukkakrimi, an early Babylonian king, had Lakmi represented on the great temple of Marduk at Babylon (see Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions Western Asia*, 33 c. 4, l. 50-54), and Nabonidus the last king of Babylon placed two Lakhmi on each side of a temple to the Sun-god at Harran (V. R. 64, cl. lines 15 and 16). In these cases the Lakhmi are treated as monsters rather than as gods, and in a text published by S. A. Smith (Texts 52, 55, and 125), Laghamu is mentioned among the monsters who helped Tiamat in her fight.

Such names as Anshar and Kishar, Lakhma and Lakhama, as ancestors of the gods, are not real and genuine primitive names at all, but quite artificial creations of the later priests, who felt it

necessary to interpose some steps between their primæval chaos and the great gods, and fell back upon plausible etymologies, like some of the Greek cosmographers did. It is evidence, in fact, of the late date of the composition as we have it. The form of the legend again seems, as a composition, too complete in its epical roundness to have been the work of very early times. This is confirmed by other considerations. Thus, Professor Sayce says: "The Epic clearly belongs to a late date. The gods of the popular religion not only have their places in the universe fixed, but even the period and manner of their origin is described * * *. I much doubt whether the Epic, in its present form, is older than the time of Asshurbanipal." I think this is a very just conclusion, and we may take it that the story or legend was in fact put into its present shape for Asshurbanipal, the Assyrian king for whom the great library at Kouyunjik was collected.

This view comes out most forcibly when we examine the mythology of the tablets in which the head of all the gods is stated to be An-shar or Asshur, a deity, so far as we know, quite unknown to the Babylonian tradition, but who was doubtless the head of the Assyrian pantheon.

It seems to me, on every ground, quite plain that the occurrence of Anshar, in the prominent place he occupies in the tablets we are discussing, is only consistent with their Assyrian origin, and it was meant to place in particular prominence the great god of Assyria, Asshur.

In another tablet resembling in shape and writing the tablets we are discussing, and published in *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XIII, pl. 24, l. 3, and commented upon by Mr. King in his work already referred to, and which is very fragmentary, the city of Asshur is named, as is the god Anshar (evidently for Asshur), together with Adad and Lakhamu. It is interesting and significant that in this tablet Anshar claims to have built the famous temple of Esharra, whose building is elsewhere, in Tablet 4 of the Creation series, assigned to Marduk, and he also appears in it as the God of Creation, and not Marduk. See Mr. King's edition of the *Creation Tablets*, pp. 199 and 200.

On this fact Prof. Jastrow writes: "Evidently then, just as the Babylonian theologians sought to glorify Marduk at the expense of Bel, so Assyrian theologians, or such as stood under Assyrian influence, did not hesitate to replace Marduk by their own favourite Anshar"

(*op. cit.*, 198). Surely precisely the same remark applies to the writer of the mis-called Creation tablets.

This raises a further question. Did the scribe who wrote these tablets for Asshurbanipal merely alter certain names in an old Babylonian Epic, or did he in fact compose the Epic himself? Was it, in other words, an Assyrian composition and not a Babylonian one? I do not mean to suggest that the legend of Marduk and Tiamat was not very much older than the days of Assyrian grandeur. Of course it was: of this we have ample proof; but I am speaking of the Epic as it occurs in the tablets. I am disposed to think that it was actually and in fact an Assyrian composition, and that it dates from a much later period than is commonly supposed. It is curious if this is not so that we should have no trace or fragment of any copy of it in early Babylonian writing, and that the names introduced into it are otherwise so unfamiliar. If Kingu and Gaga and Lakmu had occupied such a prominent position in Babylonian mythology, we should have surely heard more about them from Babylonian sources. If, on the other hand, these were old, romantic, fabulous, and unfamiliar names, they would naturally find their way into a late Epic dealing with early times. Again, in the first three tablets of this series Marduk is not named at all, although he is the real hero of the piece, and they look like an elaborated preface added afterwards; perhaps, as Dr. Pinches suggests, to enhance the triumph of Marduk by proclaiming the failures of the other gods; perhaps, on the other hand, to give a prominent place to Asshur. It is curious again that while Asshur is so prominent in the first four tablets, he does not occur at all in the subsequent ones, which again points to these four prefatory tablets being really an exordium leading up to the real kernel of the story—the fight of Marduk and Tiamat, and confirms entirely their being an Assyrian composition and appended to a new version of the old Babylonian saga.

This view is strengthened by the fact that several writers, including both Mr. King and Dr. Pinches, have suggested that the last tablet of the series, the 7th, which seems quite unconnected with the rest, and looks like an appendix added on, *a propos* of nothing in the story, did not form a part of it originally. It is really an enumeration of the fifty famous names of Marduk.

It would be interesting to trace how Damaskios obtained his very accurate copy of the first lines of the Epic. He was a very late writer and was one of the victims of Justinian's furious

campaign against the Philosophers, when he took refuge in Persia, but it is difficult to suppose that in the 7th century A.D. he could have had access to the original documents or found any one to read them. It is more probable that he derived them from an older Greek writer.

His introduction of the name Illinos for An Shar points, it seems to me, to the extract having been ultimately derived through some Babylonian channel.

To revert somewhat. I mentioned that the god Asshur is named by Iri shum, an early patesi of Assyria. The temple of Asshur is named in an inscription of Sam si Adad, another patesi who ruled *circa*. 1700. He is mentioned with Anu, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar in an inscription of Adad Nirari the First, *circa*. 1325, in which he curiously occupies not the first but the second place, this being the only occasion in which he does so. Later on in the same inscription the king calls himself priest of Asshur, and later again he refers to the temple of "Asshur his lord" who dwelt in E-kharsag-kurkura, and his name precedes those of Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ishtar (Bel here perhaps meaning Bel-Marduk). In an inscription of Tukulti-Ninip the First, *circa*. 1275, he is associated with Adad, while Tiglath-Pileser the First calls him "the Great Lord ruling the assembly of the gods."

There can be no doubt that while the city of Asshur was his original shrine, Asshur's fame and dominance grew with the growth of the Assyrian empire, and that he became the supreme god of Mesopotamia; but he was more than this.

Prof. Hommel has shown that the early Assyrian contract tablets, discovered in Cappadocia not far from Cæsarea, date from the time of the Khammurabi dynasty. From them he quotes such names as Amur-Ashir, Amur Shamash, Ashir Emuki, Ashur-ishtakal Ashur-rabi, Ashirtayar, Ashur-bani, Ashur imiti, Ennam Ashir, Pilakh Ashur, Manumbali-Ashir (*i.e.*, who would be without Ashir), Manum ki Ashur (*i.e.*, who is like unto Ashur). (*Ancient Hebrew Tradition, etc.*, 142 note). Here, then, we have ample evidence of the cult of the God Asshur far away from Assyria in the early days of the Khammurabi dynasty when the latter country was still ruled by Patesis. Palestine seems to offer a similar proof, although in the case of Palestine it is the goddess answering to Asshur, namely, Ashira, who is chiefly mentioned.

Professor Sayce will have it that Asshur had no partner and divided his honours with no corresponding goddess. Thus he says,

"There was yet one other respect in which Assur resembled the Yahveh of Israel. There was no goddess Assuritu by the side of Assur, as there was an Anatu by the side of Anu, a Beltis by the side of Bel. If in imitation of Babylonian usage, Bilat or Belet is sometimes addressed as the consort of Assur, it is simply a literary affectation." Again he says, in his recent Gifford Lectures, "The wife occasionally provided for Asshur by the scribes was a mere grammatical abstraction, etc." I think this needs some qualification. If it was only a literary affectation it was introduced very early, and occurs in very important documents. In lines 32-35 of column 4 of the great cylinder inscription of Tiglath-Pileser the First we read how he "took away twenty-five gods of the lands he had conquered, which he had captured with his hand and taken away that they might become the possession of the temple of Belit, the mighty consort, the beloved of Asshur his lord." By Belit is here clearly meant no foreign goddess. The name merely means "the Lady" *par excellence*, and assuredly refers to the wife of Asshur, who must have had a special temple in the city of Asshur at this time more than a thousand years B.C.

It is true that in later times Asshur dominates everything in Assyria, and was, what Lenormant called him, the *Deus ex superantissimus* of the Assyrians (*Magic*, 104), but the fact of his having had a consort seems almost certain from the Canaanitish evidence.

In the Tell el Amarna letters we have the name of this consort preserved in the composition of more than one name, such as Abd Ashratu and Abd Ashirta, *i.e.*, servant of Ashratu or servant of Ashirta. One of these names is merely the plural of the other, and is perhaps used in the same way as Elohim was used in the Bible.

In other inscriptions Ashira is made the wife of Ramman, and the special goddess of the Western countries and of Canaan, from the time of Khammurabi (Lagrange, 121). The same writer identifies her again with the Ashira mentioned on the Stele of Tiuna in Arabia. We can hardly doubt that by Ashira was meant a consort of Asshur.

Le nom de la déesse est tout simplement le féminin du nom du dieu Ashur (says Père Lagrange), qui les tablettes cappadociennes (d'environ 2000 B.C.) mentionnent sous le nom d'Ashir (*op. cit.*, 121). In this Delitzsch quite agrees. Thus he says "Ashur, in early times Ashir, whence אֲשִׁירָה, ashirtu, the Feminine" (*Lesestücke*, 4th edition, p. 192).

GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

Specimens of the wooden inscribed labels which were often attached to mummies in the Roman period for purposes of identification are to be seen in most of the great museums. Some of these are inscribed in Greek only, while others are bilingual, one side usually being inscribed in Greek, the other in Demotic (rarely both inscriptions are on one side); others, again, bear Demotic inscriptions only. The following publication contains a selection of the unilingual Greek mummy-labels in the British Museum. With few exceptions they were obtained for the Trustees by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, at Akhmim.

Some of these labels were attached to the mummies merely as memorials. No. 20,816 of the British Museum (*Ζωσιμη εὐψυχι*, published below No. 20) is a case in point: the *εὐψυχι* shews that the label was merely a memorial, but the majority serve a different end. Mummies were constantly despatched by water from the place of death to some distant necropolis for burial, from the care of one relative to that of another, and so on; and there were, no doubt, always a certain number of *gyassas* whose freight regularly consisted of dead bodies on their travels. To these oblong wooden tickets or labels (often in modern days called 'Tesseræ') were tied, bearing the name of the deceased and that of his parents, his age, and often the name of the place from which he had come or that to which he was going, either incised or written in Greek. The Demotic inscriptions usually contain a prayer or religious formula as well. Sometimes a longer screed of directions is given (see No. 88 of the collection here published). When much more than simple particulars was required, however, a papyrus screed was sent with the body. It was often necessary to give information to the public officials with regard to the striking of the name of the deceased out of the tax-lists (*περιαίρεθῆναι τούτο το ὄνομα δια τῶν δημοσιῶν γραμματέων ὡς καθήκει*), and the placing of it *ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάφῳ*, and so forth (see WESSELY, *Mitth. der Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer*, V, p. 12, where three of these directions on papyrus are given). Additional directions of this kind were of course necessary in the

case of bodies of persons of the better class, in order to guard against the possibility of detention or even loss. As it was, lawsuits sometimes arose over the disputed possession of a mummy,¹ and some poorer consigners of a dead body were careful to state on their wooden tickets the fact that they had paid the proper fare and all necessary dues (see LE BLANT, *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, N.S. iv, p. 233, Nos. 63 64, 65).

The tickets belong chiefly to mummies of persons of the lower ranks, tradesmen and handicraftsmen: carpenters are mentioned (No. 81), bakers (No. 83), shepherds, dragomans, interpreters, and their like. The highest calling, according to our modern ideas, mentioned is that of a physician (No. 85), cf. KREBS, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, xxxii, No. 18). That of a Greek *agoranomos*, or village registrar, is given below (No. 19).

The majority of the tickets in all the museums come from the neighbourhood of Panopolis (Akhmîm). Isolated specimens have come from other parts of the country, as Nos. 87 and 88, below, but Akhmîm and Sûhâg have supplied by far the greater number to the museums. This is simply a chance: there is no doubt that the custom of labelling mummies was as much in vogue in other parts of Egypt as in the Panopolite nome. The villages of Bompâë, Psônîs, and others which are mentioned on these labels were probably all in the neighbourhood of Akhmîm. Bompâë has been identified with Sûhâg.

All the mummy-tickets date from the centuries of imperial rule; the earliest noted by SPIEGELBERG (*Ägyptische Eigennamen*, p. 2) is of the reign of Trajan (the beginning of the second century), and one of the latest is that dated in the "year 1" of Macrianus and Quietus, A.D. 260. Another noted by KREBS (*loc. cit.*, p. 37) bears an Indiction-date, and so must belong to the fourth century. Undated Christian tickets which are known to belong to the same century, e.g., one published by KREBS (*loc. cit.*, p. 38, No. 5), and SCHMIDT, *ibid.*, p. 52 ff.).² One of the tickets here published (No. 78, below, Brit. Mus., No. 23,216) is apparently dated A.D. 231, and two others (Nos. 18 and 79, below) are also dated in the third century, to which the majority of the best written undated tickets appear, judging from palæographic evidence, to belong.





¹ One calls to mind the Herodotean story of the king who forbade his subjects to pledge the dead bodies of their fathers in settlement of debt.

² For the supposed Christian mummy ticket Berlin 11,843, see below.

The interest and importance of these, in themselves insignificant, objects is obvious. We have in them a collection of typical proper names of Egyptians of the middle and lower classes, given in Greek as well as Egyptian, coming mainly from one place, and nearly all dating from the same period, the second, third and fourth centuries after Christ. The linguistic and historical value of such a collection of names of the Græco-Roman period is great.

Linguistically, the bilingual series of Egyptian names is of value, because by its means we can learn the original forms and meanings of a large number of the Egyptian names which we meet in græcized forms in the papyri, and so can at the same time obtain much new information with regard to the vocalization and general pronunciation of Egyptian in the Roman period: further, in one or two cases the spelling of a name on the Greek side of a mummy-ticket has enabled us to deduce the previously uncertain value of a sign which is contained in the Demotic form of the name on the other side of the ticket.³

Historically also such a collection of names is valuable, because, from the proportion of Greek to Egyptian names among them, we may arrive at some idea of the proportion of inhabitants of Greek origin who conformed to Egyptian religious and funerary ideas in an average Egyptian province in the second and third centuries, and so may glean some additional evidence as to the extent to which the Greek and Egyptian elements of the population had mingled with one another at that time. The third century was a period of transition from the old to the new Egypt. The Greek element had become ineradicably fixed in the land, and Greeks and the Greek language had become the vehicle of the Roman Government. Greek influence had permeated to the lowest strata of the population: allegiance to the common master, Rome, had brought the two nationalities closer together than had ever been the case under the Ptolemies, when the Greek was the ruler of the land, not, as under the Romans, merely the fellow-subject of the Egyptian. The lower-class Egyptian and lower-class Greek consorted then in wine-shop and market, as they do now in *καφενεϊον* and *bakḥāl*; but the

³ E.g. the value *Min* of the god's name  is rendered certain by the Greek spelling Πετεμνις of the name  (X B A  ) , "He whom MEIN gives" (the final —is is merely added in order to make the name capable of flexion in a Greek sentence).

mixture was nearer fusion than it ever has been before or since. For there was not then the great gulf fixed between orthodox Christian and Monophysite and Muslim which now prevents a fusion of Greek and Egyptian in Egypt. The Mediterranean—Italian or Greek—of the first three centuries A.D. was adaptable in his religious views, and if he lived in Egypt had no objection to worshipping the gods of the Egyptians, especially if he had Egyptian blood in his veins himself. The barrier of religion was practically nonexistent, and hundreds of families of Greek origin mummified their dead and wrote on their labels prayers to Sokaris in Demotic as unhesitatingly as their Egyptian neighbours did. Intern marriage, no doubt, often took place; certainly both Egyptian and Greek names constantly occurred in the same family.⁴ The proportion of Egyptians with Greek-named wives, and of Greeks with Egyptian wives is about the same. Naturally it cannot be assumed that every person with a Greek name was a Greek, but it is doubtless the case that a Greek name meant Greek connections, so that the occurrence of Greek names in a family may be taken to indicate intermarriage with Greeks. The proportion of Greek to Egyptian names in Prof. SPIEGELBERG's collection of *Eigennamen* from the mummy-tickets is 1 : 4. In the Greek mummy-tickets of the British Museum, published below, the proportion is 1 : 3; out of 102 names, 36 are Greek. This is a high proportion, and is due to the fact, noted below, that the purely Greek tickets contain a proportionately larger number of Greek names than the bilinguals. The general proportion of 1 : 4 no doubt fairly represents the proportion of Greek to Egyptian proper names among the Egyptian lower classes in the second and third centuries.⁵ It would not be justifiable to deduce from this proportion of names the conclusion that a full quarter of

⁴ The extent to which Greek ideas had won their way among the Egyptians is exemplified in the translating of Egyptian names, as Hierax (No. 85, below, no doubt a translation of *Pabêkis*, "the Hawk") and Prophêta (No. 43), or by the compound names, such as Psenartemis (No. 16), Psensenargyrios (No. 38), and Sendrakôn, "The child of the dragon," who was the child of the Greek named Didymiôn and his Egyptian wife Senbêsis (No. 57).

⁵ Among the Greek names I include such Graeco-Egyptian appellations as Harpokration, Serapion, Ammonios (Nos. 35, 73, 52), *etc.*, which are derived from Egyptian ideas, but are purely Greek in form, and are to be absolutely distinguished from graecized Egyptian names, such as Petetriphe or Harewotje, which are simply *Petetripe* and *Harewotje* slightly modified in order to be written in Greek characters and given a Greek final termination in order to make them capable of Greek inflexion,





the lower class population of Egypt at that time was of Greek and Italian origin, but we may fairly deduce from it the conclusion that a full quarter had Greek and Italian blood in its veins, whether much or little. The foreign blood was naturally most represented in towns, and especially among the smaller officials, who could, no doubt, while worshipping Egyptian deities, often lay claim to comparatively pure Greek descent.



We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the extent to which the Egyptians had become hellenized in the third century. So long, however, as the ancient gods of Egypt were worshipped, and the ancient script was still used to express the native language, the native element still preserved its national idiosyncrasy, the Greek remained a foreigner, and, despite increasing admixture, absolute fusion was impossible.


Real fusion only came within the bounds of possibility after the triumph of Christianity, which gave the two races a single religion, and the concomitant replacement of the native script, which was naturally associated with paganism, by the more convenient Greek alphabet, with one or two added signs borrowed from the Demotic to express sounds for which the alphabet possessed no equivalent.

One of the latest instances of the use of Demotic is on a mummy-ticket, that of the reign of Macrianus and Quietus, already referred to, which gives the regnal year in Demotic. Interesting instances of the earliest adaptation of the Greek writing to express Egyptian sounds are to be found among the mummy-tickets, e.g., the third century label of T'senšai, daughter of Esouëř (Berlin 10541), published by STEINDORFF, *Äg. Zeitschr.*, 1890, p. 50 (KREBS, 77). On the Greek side of this ticket these names are written Σεψαῖς and Ἐσουήρις; the Egyptian forms T'senšai and Esouëř are given on the other side, however, but not in Demotic, in modified Greek characters written, as was Demotic, from right to left, as **ΙΑΞΙΝΕΣΤ** and **ΕΡΕΒΟΕΣ**.⁶ Here the sign **Ξ** (= **ΙΙΙ**) is borrowed from the

⁶ Σεψαῖτος . . . μητρος Ἐσουήρις = **ΕΡΕΒΟΕΣ—ΙΑΞΙΝΕΣΤ**.

The —**Ξ** between the two names seems to me to be the Demotic equivalent of **ΙΙΙ**  , and to be intended to represent phonetically the sound of *se-n*, "child of" (correct Demotic —**Σ**, **Δ**  , *ta-s(er)e(t)-n*): the "old-Coptic" inscription on this ticket therefore reads, *T'senšai sen-Esouëř*, "Tshenshai, daughter of Esouere." If this conjecture of mine be correct, this attempt at phonetic spelling is very interesting. The slip which caused the Demotic — to be written for **Ν** is easily understood.

Demotic to express the sound *š* (sh), which was unknown to the Greek tongue. It occurs upon another "old-Coptic" mummy-ticket of the same period, that of Šle-ou (Berlin, 10566), also published by STEINDORFF, *loc. cit.*, p. 53 (KREBS, 57). On this, however, the name is written from left to right. **ΒΛΕ-ΟΥ**. The Greek form given in Σλεύου. In Coptic another Demotic form of , , was adopted as the letter **ϣ** to express *š*.

Christian mummy-tickets are known. The Egyptian Christians did not give up the old national custom of embalming the dead, and easily adapted the old pagan ideas to the new faith. So "Coptic" mummies were ticketed like the pagan ones, only, instead of the Egyptian prayer to Sokaris, we find the monogram , or the cross. That already referred to is of a certain Psenthêous, son of Apollonios, son of Patsês. The Egyptian Christians always retained the use of pagan names, and we find Coptic saints and abbots, notably fanatical Christians, in later days bearing names compounded with those of heathen gods of the most uncompromisingly "devilish" character; e.g., the name Pamin, "he who belongs to Min" (see No. 5, below).

For a century and a half after the triumph of Christianity Greeks in Egypt and native Egyptians seemed to form one people, united by the bond of a common religion, until the strong nationalism of the Egyptian race again found expression in the adoption of the Monophysite heresy and the rejection of the council of Chalcedon. The long struggle against the orthodoxy of Constantinople which followed absolutely divided Greek from Egyptian once more, and the Saracen conquest finally cut Egypt off from Greece, and re-transferred her from the West to the East. The work of Alexander was undone, and the Græco-Egyptian *Mischkultur*, which had existed for a thousand years, came to an end.

The mummy-labels being the result of Egyptian religious ideas, the Egyptian inscriptions on them are naturally fuller than the Greek, and usually contain prayers to Egyptian divinities of the dead, which are absent from the Greek inscriptions. These were chiefly intended for the information of Greek-speaking officials and others who would have to do with the transport and delivery of the bodies, and there was naturally no reason to repeat the Egyptian religious formulæ in them. Also since the Egyptian Greeks usually venerated the Egyptian deities as well as their own, they were

ordinarily mummified after death and buried according to Egyptian rites, and, when this was done, the prayers to the native gods must have been chanted over them in the native tongue only, and if inscribed on their mummy-tickets, inscribed only in the native script; it would have been neither appropriate nor necessary to translate them into Greek. Naturally enough, many tickets for Greek mummies bear Greek inscriptions only, and do not contain the Egyptian religious formulae; also the proportion of Greek to Egyptian names is, on the bilingual tickets, considerably less than on the tickets inscribed in Greek alone.

The Egyptian formulae of the Demotic inscriptions on the mummy-tickets is usually conceived thus: "May his spirit live for ever in the presence of Osiris-Sokaris, the great god, lord of Abydos," or, "May his spirit serve (*sems*) Osiris," etc. Then follows the name and parents' names, place of origin, *etc.* Another Demotic formula sometimes closes the inscription.

The Greek inscription dispenses with the religious formula; one of the nearest approaches to one being contained in the inscription of Berlin, 11820 (KREBS, 17), which reads "Ταῖσαι ἐβιώσαν εἰκοσι ὀκτὼ Γ Λ κη εἰς τὴν λαμπράν ἀπῆλθεν, "Taêsai lived twenty-eight (28) years. She has gone to the shining (land)," *i.e.*, the abode of the blessed *ikhôû*, or spirits, *lit.*, "Shining Ones." I cannot agree with SCHMIDT (*loc. cit.*, p. 61) that the λαμπρά χώρα is necessarily the Christian heaven, the φωτινὸν τόπος of Coptic Greek gravestones), and so that the ticket is that of a Christian.

In its fullest model form the Greek inscription reads: Εἰς Α ταφή⁷ του (της) δεινα του δεινα . . . μητρος Β απο Γ ετων Δ(εβίωσαν ετη Δ).⁸ The imperial regnal year and day of month are sometimes added. Sometimes the place-direction is given at the end of the inscription, as in No. 87 below, but, in the majority of cases, it does not appear at all. The initial ταφή is usually omitted, and we have such an inscription as No. 18, below, Θεανους κ.τ.λ., or No. 10, Αθασαρευου του και Πετενεφθιμις μητ(ρος) Διουνυσιας Λιη. In this last we have one Egyptian name declined according to the rules of Greek grammar, while the other, the surname, is not so declined. In the case of hellenized Egyptian names, which were in the native language indeclinable,⁹ though their hellenized form was declinable, the

⁷ In No. 1 below the variation Στηλη τοῦ δεινα.

⁸ Sometimes ciphers are given as well as the word, as in the ostrakon of Ταῖσαι (Berlin, 11820; KREBS, 17), quoted above.

genitive after [ταφη] is often dropped, and we have such formulæ as No. 70, *Αρεμης Αρυτου μη(ρος) Σεψιος απο Βομηαι*. Egyptian influence even effected the same disregard of case in Greek names, which are also commonly given in the nominative, e.g., No. 85, *et passim*. The single name is often given simply, i.e. nominative or genitive. Aberrant formulæ sometimes occur, as No. 33: *θυ(ατηρ) Ψαῖτος Σενπορχη ο πατηρ Πετευρις Βελινιος*. Senponkhē was apparently the daughter of Psais, so that the *ο πατηρ* must be Psais's father. Bekhinis was, then, the great grandfather of Senponkhē.

Formulæ which give the cause of death, such as Berlin 11825 (KREBS. 36), or contain directions as to the disposal of the body, e.g., No. 88 below, are not so common as the simpler type given above. The directions were properly separated from the name-formula, as in Berlin 2150 (KREBS, 34).

The meaning of and other questions connected with the names contained in the British Museum collection of Greek mummy tickets will be discussed in the following pages. I wish to note that the whole of what follows was written some years before the appearance of Prof. SPIEGELBERG's *Ägyptische Eigennamen*.¹⁰ All alterations and additions rendered necessary by his valuable publication are inserted in square brackets.

⁹ Names written in the unhellenized native form (e.g., Nos. 5, 23, 40, 43, 44, 46, etc., below), could not in any case be declined, and cannot be said to be in either nominative or genitive case; the inscription begins simply with the indeclinable name *Ταμεν*, *Ταουπ*, *Σεπταμινουθ*, &c.

¹⁰ *Ägyptische und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, by Prof. Wm. Spiegelberg. Leipzig, 1901.

I may add a list of previous material to which references have already been made above:—

1. LE BLANT: *Tablæi Égyptiennes*: Rev. Arch. N.S. xviii (1875).
2. STEINDORFF: *Zwei altkoptische Mumienetiketten*: Ä.Z. xxviii, 49 ff. (1890).
3. REVILLOUT: *Planchettes bilingues trouvées à Sohag*: Rev. Eg., vi. 43-45, 100-101; vii. 29-38. (1891-2).
4. WESSELY: *Holztäfelchen der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, v. 11 ff. (1892).
5. KREBS: *Griechische Mumienetikette aus Ägypten*: Ä.Z. xxxii, 36 ff. (1894).
6. SCHMIDT: *Ein altchristliches Mumienetikett*: *ibid.*, 52 ff (1894).

(To be continued.)

THE DISCOVERY OF ARCHAIC HITTITE
INSCRIPTIONS IN ASIA MINOR.BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D., &c.*

The discovery of the site of a pre-Hellenic city made by Prof. W. M. Ramsay and Prof. T. Callander is one of the most important that have been made in Asia Minor of recent years. It lies about midway on the high-road, already disused and forgotten in Greek days, which once led from Iconium (*Konia*) to Tyana (*Bor*). As the ruins of an old fortress, called Arissama by the Turks, are but an hour distant, Prof. Ramsay is doubtless right in identifying the site with the Ardistama of classical geography.

Three inscribed monuments were found on the site. One on a mushroom-shaped stone altar, of the form represented in Hittite sculptures; a second on a broken altar of the same shape; and the third on a monument, out of which a trough has been cut, so that portions only of its two inscribed sides have been left. The second and third monuments were found at a spot about a mile and a-half distant from that where the first was discovered; but as other cut stones of early date were lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the latter, it is probable that they had been carried there from their original positions.

All three monuments are inscribed with Hittite characters, which are in relief and of archaic forms. They help us at last towards determining the relative age of the inscriptions already known to us. The forms of the characters, the mode in which they are combined and used, and, above all, the territorial titles contained in the texts so closely resemble those of one of the Carchemish inscriptions (J. II, Messerschmidt X), the ten-line inscription of Boghaz-Keui (four lines of which Dr. Belck has succeeded in copying), the "Niobe" and "Sesostris" graffiti, and (to a less extent) the Bei-keui inscription discovered by Prof. Ramsay in a tumulus near Afium-Karahissar, that we need not hesitate to ascribe them to the same age. As the cuneiform tablets found at Boghaz-Keui appear to belong to the Tel el-Amarna period, we should have an approximate date at last for the earliest of our Hittite texts.

The name of Mames, who records his ecclesiastical buildings in the altar-inscription, is characteristic of the region in which the monuments are found, and "the city of Mames" will be the Mamessos of classical geography, though whether it should be identified with the Mamessos or Momoasson, which is now represented by Mammasun, is not certain. "The city of the Double-headed eagle" must be Eyuk, N.-E. of Boghaz-Keui, since this is the "totem" of the city which is engraved on the ruins that mark its site, and it is possible that Boghaz-Keui itself may be meant by the "edicule" in the fifth line of the inscription. Mention is also made of "the city of the Tiara," which is named in one of the Malatiyeh texts, as well as of "the country of Kas," of which we hear in a cuneiform text brought by Dr. Belck from Boghaz-Keui. Ardistama itself is called, it would seem, "the city of the god Uan-Aramis," "the divine pine-tree, the king." The god of the pine-tree is also commemorated in the inscription of Khalma-sar(?)mes from Carchemish, and we gather from the classical writers that he was the father of Attys.¹ At Pessinus, where he was addressed as Agdistis, the pine (into which Attys was said to have been transformed) was changed into an almond-tree. It may be noted that the Hierapolis or "Sacred city" of Asia Minor had a second name derived from the name of the deity to whose cult it was dedicated; thus we have Atyo-khōrion "the district of Atys," Attiou-kômê "the village of Atys," Mēno-kômê "the village of Mên."

In the altar-inscription the Asianic trinity of divine father, son and mother is commemorated, Mames being called "the corybant of the Dance-god and the Phallus-god," and "dirk-bearer of the goddess Amma." The "god of the Dance" bore the name of Sawa, and at Fraktin was known as Tarku, who was identified by Strabo with Apollo. The "Phallus-god" is naturally Attys, while Amma is denoted by the upright feather or curl which also characterises her in the "Niobe" inscription. The same trinity is also commemorated at Gurun, where however Sawa or Tarku, the Goat-god, is represented by the symbol which denotes him at Boghaz-Keui, and Attys by the pair of legs which at Boghaz-Keui is used to express his name. Sawa, which became Sapa in Syria,² is the origin

¹ In one version of the story Kalaos is given as the father of Attys. Kalaos would be the Hittite *kala-vas*, from *kalis* or *kalas* "a gallos-priest." We have *kala-wa* in the corrected copy of M. XXIII, C 1.

² Subbi in the letter of the Hittite king Subbi-luiluma, found at Tel el-Amarna.

PLATE I.



GREAT ALTAR.

of the Greek Σάβωα, or ministers of the Dance-god, like Sabazios, which is formed by the suffix *-zi*, Hittite *-zi*. Sabazios, "the son of Sawa," was identified by the Greeks with Dionysos, and, as he was associated with the serpent, may be the Hittite Sandes who on a seal seems to be symbolised by a snake (MESSERSCHMIDT XI, 1).

COMMENTARY.

Great Altar Inscription. (Pl. I.)

1. *Ma-me-MIS-s kai-s isi(?)m* ID.-na ID.ID, "Mames the builder of the high-place of the bull-fetish and the throne (?) of the man-fetish." I am as far as ever from certainty as to the phonetic value of the patronymic suffix which I doubtfully read *isi*. Elsewhere *isi(?)m* is written *isi(?)mâ*. Nor do I know what is represented by the object I have called a "throne" (?), and which has the ideograph of "making" placed above it. The head of the bull is not clear in the squeeze, and may be a four-cornered cushion. The man-fetish occurs in a degenerate form at Carchemish (MESSERSCHMIDT XI, 5).

Ab-ê a-rama AMIS *na- ? mamis Uan*-DET. *Ara-me-na* (?) ID-DET. *MÂ* ID.-a-*(*me*)-* DET. *kai-isi(?)maana* ID. DET. *Aramê*(?). *me-n* DETS.-*ta*-DET. *ammâ* ID.-*mâ-n*, "for the corybant, the king of the city . . , the city of the Pine-god, Aramis (the king) who has given to the city of the Double-headed Eagle a great high-place, the high-place of the god Aramis (?), (and) among cities the city of Ma . . mas." Such seems to be the meaning of the passage, though in other texts the word *me-n* when preceding the ideograph of "city" is the accusative of (*a*)*mes* "a city." For the open hand in the sense of "giving" see M³. X, 3. The boot lying on its side, with the toes turned up, throughout these inscriptions takes the place of the ordinary boot in the compound ideograph which signifies "great," as well as in other cases where it is used ideographically. The character below *na*, which resembles the beak of a bird, is uncertain, and may be intended for *ta*.

The leg is an abbreviated form of the ideograph of "dancing," as may be seen by comparing M. XI, lines 2 and 4 (see my last Paper on the Hittite Inscriptions, *Proc.*, Nov., 1904, p. 247). In M. XI, 2, it is preceded by the determinative of "official" ("chief

³ M. denotes Messerschmidt's *Corpus inscriptionum Hittitarum*.

dirk-bearer, corybant of the sanctuary"). The corybantes or dancing priests of Cybele and Attys were well known to the Greek writers. The word which I have called *abis* (the leg having the phonetic value of *ba*) may have been *kurabis*.

At Carchemish (M. X, 2) we have had "the (pine-)tree of the god Aramis, the supreme king of the Nine," on which see my last Paper on the Hittite Inscriptions, *Proc.*, Nov., 1904, p. 248. I was mistaken in supposing that the tree corresponded with the three phonetic characters *ya-na-tu*; a comparison of the two forms of the city-name found in M. XXXIII, 3 shows that it corresponds only with *ya-na*. Now the Egyptian inscriptions know of a country westward of Aleppo called Uana, from the *uan*-tree, the name of which has been pronounced by Egyptologists to be of foreign origin on account of the variations of its spelling in the texts. The *uan*-tree is usually identified with the juniper, principally because the district of the Amanus was known to the Assyrians as *sad erini*, "the mountain of cedar;" all that is certain is that it represented some kind of pine or fir, and has the same shape in the Egyptian hieroglyphs as the tree we are considering has in the Hittite pictographs. I have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the two. Hence my suspicion was right that the characters (4 and 6) to which I had provisionally assigned the values of *ya* and *yas* are really *u* and *us* or *wa* and *was*. This enables us to understand better than before how the classical "Eneti" or "Veneti" (with which the names of the cities Venasa and Vanota are connected), cuneiform Vantu-vas, can be represented by the Hittite *Wa-na-tu*, and leads to the conclusion that the sonant *n* (No. 14), which appears as the phonetic equivalent of the tree in M. VI, 5, compared with VII, 1, 1, could be pronounced *un*. Now in M. VII, 1, 1, the second character in the name of the city which thus begins with *un* is one which has puzzled me greatly, as it is different in form from *da* (No. 43), but identical with one in the inscription on the Bowl (M. I, 3) in a name which Prof. Jensen conjectured to be Carchemish. Hitherto I have been unable to accept his identification, as the name is preceded by the determinative of divinity and not of a city, but a discovery I have lately made has cleared away my difficulties and shown that he was right in his conclusion, though the premiss on which it was based was mistaken. The passage reads: *kaisima iusi-ma* DET. (of word-division) DET. *Khalama-m-isi(?)* DET. *Kar-qa-mâ-isi(?)* "the high-place and chapel of the god of Carchemish (the divine son of Karqa-ma, or, perhaps.

the son of the place of the god Karqa), the Akhlamite." Consequently in VII, 1, 1 the transliteration is *Un-qa*, and as this is followed by KALÊ-î, it would appear that we are intended to read Unqi, the name of the district in which the inscription was found according to the Assyrian inscriptions.⁴ The Assyrian Unqi is the Uniuqa of Thothmes III, as I was the first to point out in my *Monuments of the Hittites*. Uan, Yakhan, and Unqi were all conterminous, if, indeed, as is more probable, they did not denote the same land. In M. VI, 5 the name is written Un-ka rather than Unqi.

In M. VII, 1, 1 the country of Irkatu, in which the city of Unqi was situated, is called "the divine land." This was because the Uan-tree was a god. In Asia Minor the god appears in Greek inscriptions under the name of Benneus or Zeus Bennios (Ramsay: *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 144, 145.)⁵ The symbol of Aramis "the king" looks more like an almond than a cone, and reminds us that at Pessinus, Agdistis, the tree-god, the father of Attys, was said to have transformed his organs of generation into an almond. The symbol is usually surrounded with rays of light similar to those which emanate from the sacred symbol of the Paphian goddess on early Cypriote seal-cylinders; on a Hittite seal-cylinder (M. XLIII, 8) the rays become balls, and Aramis is coupled with Khalma, the goddess of Carchemish. It will be remembered that a Carchemishian in the Assyrian period bears the name of Aramis-sar-ilani, "Aramis (is) king of the gods" (K, 11).

⁴ The priestly apron *kal* (No. 38) like the quiver (No. 31) also represented *anis* "great" and *anas* "prince," and could consequently be used with the phonetic value of *ni* (or *na*). At all events this was the case at Mer'ash, as in M. XXIII, c. 1, where the photograph reads: . . . AMIS-wa ani-ni (No. 31) -wa ID. N-n-nê (No. 38)-wa-mâ kali-wa-s a (No. 56) - nê (No. 31 and suffixed vowel) -mis "of the city . . . , the great, the place of the Sun-god, the gallospriest princely." Hence in M. VI, 4, 5, it is possible to read *Uan-nê* rather than *Un-ka*. From photographs of the two Boghaz-Keui seals reproduced in M. XLIV, 5, 7, when compared with a seal belonging to Count di Cesnola, I am inclined to think that on both we have the name of a "sword-prince" or "dirk-bearer" ID. -"Sun-god"-nê-na, to which is added on No. 5 *Kasê-i-was* "the Kasian."

⁵ Bannu, according to Prof. Hilprecht, is the name of a foreign deity found by him in Babylonian contracts of the Persian period, which show that Hittites were included among the foreign settlers in Babylonia. In a Greek inscription found by Diest near the Midas-city (Yasili-kaia) mention is made of "my Benneuan fatherland" (πατρίς ἐμὴ Βεννεωνική, Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, No. 125, 1898). This would be the Hittite Uan-ne-wa(s).

Khalma, or Khalama, and Aramis were, in fact, the divine pair of Carchemish.⁶

The city of the Double-headed Eagle seems to be Eyuk, since this is the symbol of the city which is engraved on the right-hand post of the ancient city-gate.

The concluding words of the sentence are found again on the broken altar, line 3, with one or two variations. The phonetic *mis* is omitted there after the ideograph of "city," and the vowel *a* takes its place, while the upturned boot is not written after the suffix *ta*, from which we may gather that it is here merely a determinative.

As the human head has the value of *ara(mis)*, "king," and the vowel *e* is here attached to it, we may perhaps read the divine name —Aramis. The city denoted by what looks like a species of head-dress is mentioned in M. XXI, 5 (*Mâ-ID.mâ-i kalê-mis*, "the priest of Ma . . .") and perhaps also in the inscription from Malatiyeh, which I have published in the *Proc.*, Jan., 1904, p. 23.

2. *Ma-me-MIS-s kai-i-isi(?)m*, "Mames, the builder of the high-place," as before, or more probably "the built high-place." It is likely that the words denoting the bull-fetish and the man-fetish, the second spelt phonetically (*arkai*), followed the mention of the two high-places. Then we have *un-ta ID.-a anamâ-ta DET.* "in this princely sanctuary of the city of Uan-Aramis." The last word is written phonetically in M. XXIII, A, 2, *a-na-a-m-a-tu*, "this princely (sanctuary)," where the suffixed *-tu* (or is it the character *nê ?*) seems to mean "this" as on the bowl (M. I, 3, *anammis A-na-m-a-tu*, "prince of this kingdom," and M. XXI, 3 (*ana-s maê-tu*, "prince of this place"). Cp. M. XXI, 4, *a-na-mis ana-me-i*

⁶ In the Pessinus legend the mother of Attys is Nana, the daughter of the Sangarios, in accordance with the fact that the Sangura or Sagura (now Sajur) was the river of Carchemish and Pethor (Pteria), and also the name of a river in the country of the Khattinâ. Nana, who thus represents Khalma, is either Nana (also written Nini), the Sun-divinity, or the borrowed Assyrian Nana. Cp. Gunzi-nan, the name of a king of Komana. With Sangura we may connect Sangara, the name of the king of Carchemish in the time of Shalmaneser II. It is possible that he is the king of one of the Carchemish inscriptions (M. IX). At all events an examination of the original monument has shown me that in my previous reading of the name of the king I have been led entirely astray by the published photograph. The first character composing it is lost, all that remains of it being an oblique line. Then comes *ga* (No. 35), and then the half of a character which is either the arm (*ara*, No. 2 ID.) or, less probably, the bundle (*na*, No. 44). Lastly come *a* and *s*. If the third character is the arm we can restore *san* (No. 59) at the beginning, and read [San-] *ga-(a)ra-a-s*

an-i, "prince of a great principality" or, perhaps, "prince of great princes." The boot is used as a determinative as it is in M. XXXII, 3: (*ana-me* DET. *kala-n* DET. "princely, priestly"), or in the usual ideographic mode of writing *anís* "great" ("dirk-master of the earth"), and *aramís* "king" ("head of the earth"; see M. X, 2.)

Aba(s) DET. IDS.-*é* DET. ID. DET. ID. DET. ID., "corybant of the god Sê (Sawa) and the god Attys and dirk-bearer of the goddess Amma." In M. XI, 4 *si* is given as the phonetic equivalent of the compound ideograph signifying "a dance." In the adjectival derivative from the name of Carchemish the syllable *si* is followed by the suffix *-was*, and from the word *si* we should similarly have *siwas*, "the dancer," where perhaps I should be better justified in making the vowel of the first syllable *a* or *u* than *i*.⁷ In any case I think, as I have said above, that in this "god of the dance" we must see the Sawa of the Greeks. At Fraktin the name is denoted by the upper boot only, to which the vowel *é* is attached in order to indicate its pronunciation. As the Greek name of the place, however, was Das-tarkon, the Goat-god Tarku must have been the proper name of the deity who was addressed as *ana Sê* or *Salê*, "the god of the dance." Attys is denoted by a phallus placed on a table; in the "edicule" it stands on the earth and supports the solar orb. It does not appear to be the same character as that which had the value *am* (No. 23); at all events in certain inscriptions the latter is made to resemble a knot. The feather (?), which denotes Amma, is found again in an inscription discovered by Prof. Ramsay near Bei-keui, on the old road from Tyriaion to Smyrna⁸ (M. XXXVI, A),

⁷ If we are to read *Gar-ga-me-su-was* instead of my earlier *-si-yas*, we should have a parallel form to the cuneiform *Uanšu-was* "the Enetian." Cp. Asianic names in *-múas*, Lycian—*movah*.

⁸ What remains of the inscription reads: "the corybant . . . ian, Amma-khal-*, lord of Kas, the great." A cuneiform tablet found by Dr. Belck at Boghaz-Keui has *aram-i-ta Kas-sa-na-[ta]* "through the Kassian king." And a re-examination of the photograph of the inscription accompanying the Pseudo-Sesostris (M. XXXIX, 1) leads to the following results: On the left of the spear are, in line 1, *kai* (No. 36), a character which can hardly be *i* (No. 3), but is formed like the character resembling an Ægean idol of which I speak below, and the character, twice found at Ibreez according to the casts (M. XXXIV, B. 1, 3), where it determines the verb . . . *is-wa*, "I sculptured"; then, in line 2, the bird and determinative of "city" with *é* attached, and, in line 3, the upper part of *ta* (No. 47). On the right of the spear we have what may be the lower part of the feather (?) of Amma, below it the upper part of *khal* (No. 54), and an obliterated sign. Hence we may read: "Amma-k'hal- . . . , who has made the image in the district of the Bird-city."

as well as in the cartouche attached to the figure of "Niobe" on Mount Sipylus (M. XXXVI, 5), where it is accompanied by the phonetic reading *Am-mi*. As the first character in the cartouche is probably the ideograph of "giving" (No. 28), we may translate the whole inscription, "Dedicated to Amma, the queen of the rock Koddinê(?)" or "the Amma-place (Mâmma?)." At any rate we now know that the figure which the Greeks identified with their legendary Niobe really represented the great goddess of Hittite Asia Minor. The feather seems to be the same as the object which I found rising from the crown of the figure's head when I climbed up to it, and of which I have given a drawing in the *Jrl. of Hellenic Studies III*, p. 226.

3. "(Amma) the queen of the rock (?) of . . . , the royal." The rectangular rock or platform (No. 53) seems to have had the value of *khar*.⁹ What the following ideograph may be I do not know: the only things that it resembles are the rude stone idols of the Ægean (see, e.g., Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 232); but we should probably identify it with a somewhat similarly shaped ideograph, which at Gurun (according to the photographs) is the phonetic exponent of the name of the goddess Amma, Amm-me-MÂ-ID. and at Hamath (M. IV, 3) forms the second character in the name of the country of *Ka(sic)-amma-gha-s* or Kummukh; it also probably represents the name of Amma at Carchemish (M. XI, 4). As *mâ* is prefixed to it in the 5th and 6th lines of our inscription I would suggest that it denotes "the place of Amma."¹⁰ In line 4

⁹ Cp., however, M. III, A 2, where it appears to represent the syllable *ghan* in the name of Ighana.

¹⁰ There is another possibility. In line 3 the half-obliterated character under the ideograph may be *nî*, and since Pausanias (III, 22) states that "the image of the mother of the gods" was carved by Broteas the son of Tantalus out of the rock Koddinê on the northern side of Sipylus, we could make the ideograph *kodi*, *katu* or something similar. The character *katu* (No. 42), which I have conjectured to be a breast-plate, could represent our ideograph inside the frame of a niche like that of the Niobe. In M. V, 1 the divine rays issue from it. It is worthy of notice that the figure of Amma-Khalma, the goddess of Carchemish (M. XI, 1), now in the British Museum, represents her as standing in a niche. Light would be thus thrown on the meaning of the word *ka-KATU-S-MÂ* in M. VII, 1, 2, preceded by a word represented by the picture of a diamond-shaped object with two strings, and the determinative of persons (which became the "word-divider" of later days). I would transliterate and translate the whole inscription: DET. *a-me-i* *A-na-a-wa-s a-AMA-wa-mis-s Ir-katu-nas* DET. DET. *na-s N-gi QI-ê-i* DET ID. *am-mi-MÂ a-gha-s* DET. ID. *mâ-mis ka* (also C)-*KATU-S-MÂ*

we have "the sacred stone" instead of it. What is chiefly to be noted, however, is that the title is exactly the same as that which is given to Amma in the "Niobe"-cartouche according to my first copies of the inscriptions before I had slightly modified them through misreading my squeeze in the Consulate at Smyrna. The assumption seems justified that the "Niobe"-cartouche and our altar inscription belong to the same age, if not to the same scribes.

Aramê ka-i kaisima (?) *ara-me-n* DET.-a-ta AMIS ID.-a ID.-ê-i-a-n DET. mâ-n DET. *Sanda-da* (?), "for the king who has made the royal high-place among the men of the city and the sanctuary's court, the place of the god Sandes." I am not sure whether the last ideograph should be identified with the bowl (*da*, No. 43), from which it differs essentially in form, or whether we have not here the name of some earlier king which began with Sandâ. The character which I have translated "court" is a picture of a temple enclosure or court. On the trough B. 3 it takes the place of the sacred stone in a corresponding passage in M. XIX, B. 8.

4. As I have already remarked, "the sacred stone" (*asi-n-isi* (?) DET.) is substituted for "Amma-place (?)" or "Kodinê (?)" as the title of Amma. The "Amma-place (?)" or "rock Kodinê (?)" was thus a Hierapolis.

Aramâ DET. *ka-i-isi* (?) *mâ* DET. ID. DET. AMIS *Sê-was* DET. *a-na* "the king of the high-place of Attys, a man of the city of Sê (Sawa), the great."

5. The "edicule" is pictured exactly as it is at Boghaz-Keui where it accompanies the priest-king who is embraced by Attys. It is therefore probable that it represents the name of the city. Here the characters which followed it are unfortunately lost, but it is preceded by *ara-m-a* "of" or "to the king." The phallus stands on the boot, *i.e.*, the earth, upholding the solar orb, the two wings of which are supported by the two world-columns. On either side of the phallus, the place of which is taken in one instance at Boghaz-Keui by the figure of a priest, is the sacred dirk planted on the quiver (*kal*, *i.e.*, *kalis* the gallos-priest).

The words in the middle of the line seem to signify, "who has given the Amma-place (?)" or "Kodinê (?) to the royal sanctuary."

i-wa-i-ta (a) *mis*-AMIS-*s-me-wa m-â-m* A-*ni-wa*, "I am . . . [the king] princely of the city of the land of Irqat, the divine land. Of the city of Unqi the floor anew (and) the images (or the hundred images) of the place of the urim-wearing(?) priest(s) in the temple I constructed and (-*m* enclitic) I enlarged."

6. Here the meaning must certainly be: "Who has given the Amma-place (?) to the royal city." The last words of the line are probably *ai kai-mu* "I have made." It can hardly be the third person. For *ai* see M. I, 3.

The Broken Altar. (Pl. II.)

The first line only of this inscription is altogether lost. Originally there were five lines of text.

1. The words seem to mean "the sanctuary of the royal monument, belonging to the god Khattu (?)," but an inspection of the original stone is necessary before an exact reading of the line is possible.

2. Here the determinative of "district" is prefixed to the name instead of being affixed as in later inscriptions. This is probably because it is intended to accompany the determinative of "city" which is similarly prefixed. The city of Ma . . is called the "city of Mames." Unfortunately I cannot make out with certainty the characters which follow the determinative of "country;" the monument of the "man-fetish," it will be observed, is associated with the god Aramis.

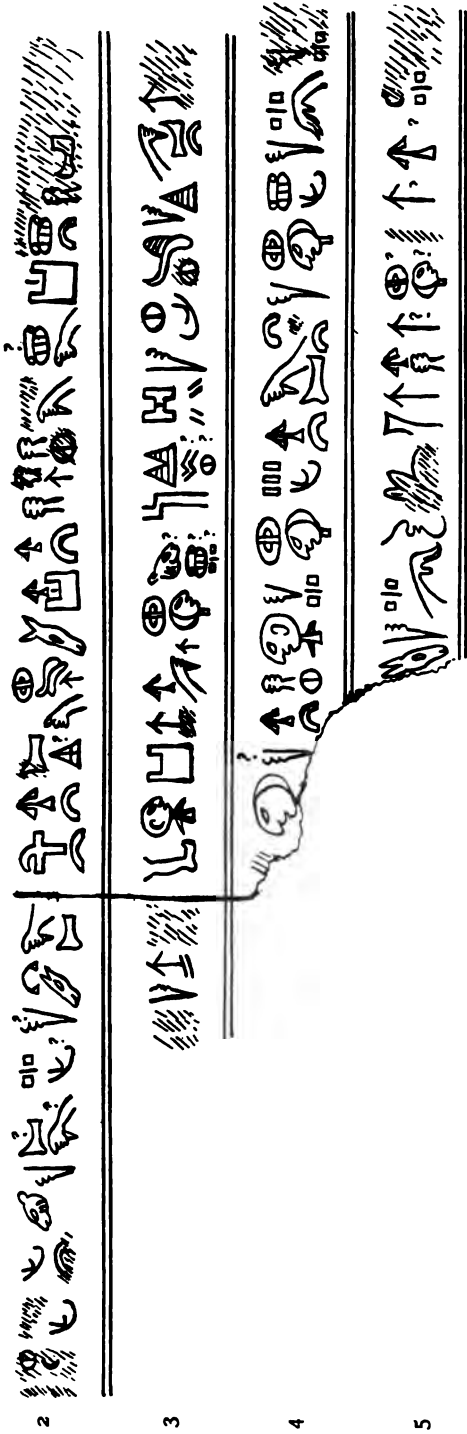
3. Here, as on the trough, *kas* seems miswritten for *me*, though *kas-n* like *kase-ma* "high-place" on the Bowl (M. I, 3), would make sense. However, it would be more intelligible to read "the king of the city of the high-place of the man-fetish, the city (*me-n*) of Aramis." Then comes the passage already discussed under line 1 of the Altar inscription: "the great high-place of the city of the god Aramis, even the city [of Ma . .] among the cities [of the land]."

The Trough. (Pl. III.)

Face B, 2. Probably the man-fetish is to be read in this line.

4. The characters are not quite certain, but should probably be "the city of the god Uan-na the king of Sê" or "Sawê." An examination of the original would, it is likely, settle the reading. The first character in the line is found on the obelisk of Izgin (M. XIX, A, 6).

5. It is unfortunate that this line is so mutilated that it is impossible to tell whether the character above *kase-n* is the quiver or not. In any case it seems to form part of a compound character, the first half of which consists of the builder's tool *kai* inside an alcove. For a similar character, representing the first syllable of the name of



BROKEN ALTAR.

PLATE III.



A

TROUGH.

B

a country, see M. XII, 3 (where it is followed by *da-am-wa*) and XLVI, 1. The ideograph denoting the name of the second country mentioned in this line is that found more than once in the inscription of Ilgin (M. XXXV. 2, 3).

Face A, 1. Once more it is unfortunate that all that remains of the name of the country is half of what may be its last syllable *ś*.

3. Here the name of the country is Ara-n. At Fraktin the name is written *Ar-i-n* with the insertion of the vowel *i*. It is evidently the Aranna or Arinna of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, whose king is referred to on a cuneiform tablet from Boghaz-Keui, and the site of which is placed by Tiglath-pileser I in the immediate vicinity of Fraktin. As the name, however, signified merely "the royal" city or land, we need not be surprised at finding more than one Arinna or Arnê in the Hittite region. Thus there was one in Kummukh and another in Lycia.

After the name of "the country of Aran" comes "the city of the nine temple-courts in the country of Kas" (*Kase-n*). Then follows a word which is either *a-na* "lord" or *a-amma*; neither squeeze nor photograph makes it clear whether the second character is the calf's head (*amma*) or the head of the striped sheep (*na*). On the Obelisk of Izgin (M. XIX, B. 8) "the city of the nine temple-courts" is replaced by "the city of the nine sacred stones" (*asi-amê-ix-mam-is-was*), and at Gurun (M. XVIII, A. 3, B. 5) we have "the place of the nine, the lordly, the god supreme over the great nine . . . the place of the nine in this city." Similarly at Carchemish (M. X, 2, 4, 5) the god Aramis is called "supreme over the nine, to whom Khalma has given the land of Kas," and the king Khalma-sar (?) me is called the priest of "the nine great gods who loves the sanctuary of the nine." The "great gods" of the Hittite people were accordingly nine in number, and as they all seem to have represented deified tribes or states, I conclude that the Hittite empire was a confederacy of nine states.

4. The remains of the characters at the beginning of this line appear to indicate that three upright arms were represented.

5. Instead of the boot with the vowel *ê* attached, the characters *wa-mâ* (Nos. 4, 21) may be intended.

(To be continued.)






NEW OFFICIALS OF THE IVTH TO VITH DYNASTIES.

BY JAMES T. DENNIS.

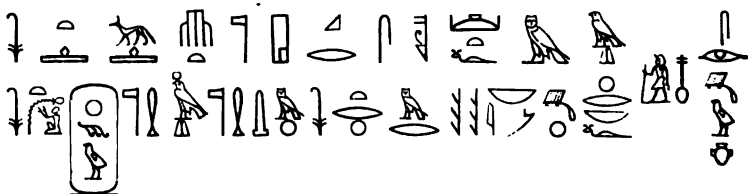
In the excavations near the Gizeh pyramids, with which I was connected last winter, were found many inscriptions of officials of the IVth and VIth dynasties hitherto unknown ; and the Society of Biblical Archæology may be interested in knowing what we have found.

1. Offering-niche of sandstone, double inscription, which reads as follows :—



It is to be noted that the feminine termination  is so frequently omitted in the inscription, only appearing after    .

2. Sandstone lintel, with two horizontal lines of inscription, reading :—




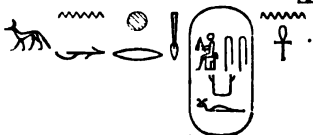
Ser-nefer himself is depicted standing behind the inscription. In front of this tomb was a *hotep*-shaped offering table.

3. Just north of the tomb of Ser-nefer is that of Sedemu, whose name appears carved on the lintel, painted red, and reads :—






Beneath the *nub* is a creature roughly carved, probably intended for the hippopotamus.

4. A handsomely carved limestone lintel, the upper part bearing the $\nabla \Delta \text{---} \text{---}$ formula painted in black, of which only $\Delta \text{---} \text{---}$ are carved; beneath we read: 



As there is only one shaft back of this niche, it may be concluded that Shepseskaf-n-ankh had no immediate family.

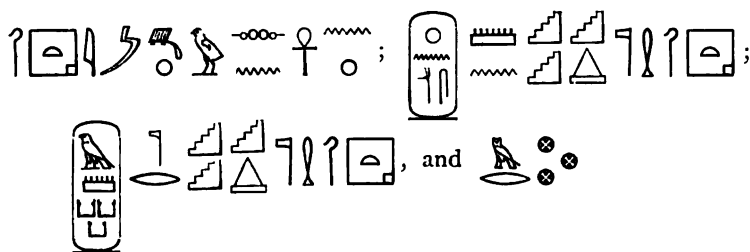
5. A large limestone stele found in the rear of the tomb of Sedemu bears the title , but is broken on both sides and above.

Beneath is the seated figure of a woman, Nefert-hotep, before an offering table. The transposition of  before  is noteworthy.

6. A large stone mastaba, in the sirdab of which we found two excellent stone statuettes, has the following inscription in two lines :—












7. The offering-niche in the tomb of Min-ankh has six perpendicular lines of inscription, dated for the Vth dynasty; the titles read as follows :—




ON SOME LISTS OF AROMATIC WOODS AND SPICES.


BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

The tablet Rm. 367 was published as V R 26, No. 2. Dr. Meissner found, and published in his *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern* (Leiden, 1898), a piece which joined and completed many lines of the fragment. It thus appeared as a duplicate to K. 4257, published II R. 45, No. 4. This latter tablet has been enlarged by the addition of K. 4346, K. 4392, K. 4433, K. 4545, Sm. 1634, and a number of the additional readings were given in Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*. The Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collections in the British Museum gives a number of further references, and of course the Lexicons have largely drawn upon it for their entries. The copying of a large number of fragments of syllabaries, and comparison of many other passages, enable me to give a number of restorations, some of which must await confirmation. I merely desire to place these on record, in the hope that others will be able to confirm or confute them. Beginning with K. 4257, col. I, line 33, where first I have anything fresh to remark, we note *argānu*, omitted by Delitzsch, *H.W.B.* and Muss-Arnolt. Meissner enters GIŠ-SIM-MAN-NU and GIŠ-SIM-AR-KAN-NU as to be read *arganu*; but the sign on "obv. 8, 9 of Rm. 367" is not *Ad*, but ; see K. 4257, I, 33 to 48. Unfortunately we know neither the pronunciation of , nor the meaning of GIŠ . On K. 4257 the rendering of the latter ended in *ru*. It is followed by GIŠ -KUR-RA, of which the rendering also ended in *ru*. In view of the way in which a number of the ideograms are evidently built up from the Assyrian words, like GIŠ-SIM-AR-MAN-NU from *armannu*, I think both GIŠ  and GIŠ -KUR-RA were read *kur-ru*. Now *kurru* was something that could be eaten, we have pots of *kurru* amongst lists of food and drink, *A.D.D.* 979, 7; 1023, 9 and Zimmern, *B.K.B.R.*, No. 67, obv. 7. In the next line K. 4257 gives GIŠ  UD, as the same thing. In the next line we have GIŠ  KUR-RA again, this time rendered by *ar-man-nu*. Then follow the two lines quoted by Meissner, as obv. 8, 9.


Both Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt enter *armannu*, but neither of them seems to notice the ideographic writings GIŠ -KUR-RA.


Then follow GIŠ  KUR-RU-LUM, rendered šú, *i.e.*, I think, *kurrulu*.


Meissner, p. 40, enters a *kurul* . . . which he thinks was something made of reed. Perhaps this is the same thing.


Next we have GIŠ- DAM-SIL-LUM, read ŠU, perhaps *tamsillum*.


Then we get GIŠ--A-AB-BA read *ummú*.



The next word *pisšú* is entered by Delitzsch, *H.W.B.*, p. 533 a. Its ideogram was GIŠ--AN-ZA. In *A.D.D.* 1036, II, 11, GIŠ-*pis-si* appears to be in opposition to "two asses," IMER-ARAD, which are said to be the GIŠ-*pis-si* of the *amêlu šā pāni êkalli*. Is it possible that IMER here is a measure and GIŠ-*pis-si* the sweet smelling plant, or herb, in our list?


The next word is to be read *šignšu*, see Delitzsch, *H.W.B.*, p. 641 a. The ideogram is GIŠ--SES.

The next word is *arsubbu*; Delitzsch omits; Muss-Arnolt omits ideogram, but gives the meaning "stronghold," surely wrong here; Meissner only has GIŠ- . . . GUD. The ideogram is GIŠ  ZIB-GUD.

Next we have *tinânú*, *H.W.B.*, p. 711, the ideogram is GIŠ- GIŠ-MA.

Next we have *kameššarú*; Delitzsch omits; Muss-Arnolt quotes *A.V.* 4091; Meissner does not give the ideogram here which is GIŠ--GIŠ-DA, but he gives the ideograms from col. II, 12 ff, GIŠ-KIB-KUR-RA, GIŠ-KIB-LAH, GIŠ-KIB-SAL.

The next word is *sippirú*; Delitzsch, *H.W.B.*, p. 510 a, enters it, but cannot complete the ideograms, which are GIŠ--UD, and GIŠ--AD-KIB-NUN-KI.

This ends the group of GIŠ .

In Rm. 367 a group follows, beginning GIŠ-ŠE, but on K. 4257 there is a break of about 19 lines. Hence the sequence was different. The words in this group are well-preserved, *šunú*, *šúsum*, *supalu*, *šaššugu*, all entered by Delitzsch, with their ideograms, correctly.

The next two lines do not appear to be entered in the lexicons. The GIŠ-TE-DU-KU is rendered SAR *ša bití*, ditto ŠÚ; which I read *urku ša bití*, or *teduku*. Then GIŠ-RIP TE-DU-KU is rendered "*šu-lum* ditto." Here Rm. 367 ends its first (?) column. The next line of K. 4257, which I should call line 65 perhaps, began with GIŠ-ŠINIG, perhaps read *bînu*, *gumâlu*, or *kipualu*. Rm. 367 has not preserved this line, nor the next nine lines, which began with GIŠ-ŠI-LU, followed by GIŠ-ŠI-LU-KU repeated eight times, doubtless with additions,

though there may have been as many renderings given in the Assyrian column. The first line of Rm. 367, given in Meissner's *Supplement. Texts*, p. 23, is, I think, line 75 of K. 4257, col. I. The ideogram seems to have been GIŠ ŠE LIB (?) ŠI-LU-KU, followed by GIŠ-ZÊR ŠI-LU-KU, which seems to mean the same as the last, for Rm. 367 apparently began with a ditto sign. In the next line K. 4257 repeats the ideogram, Rm. 367 begins the rendering with *zi-ir*. We can now combine the duplicates and have all the ideograms complete. They are GIŠ-AN-NA-ŠI-LU-KU, GIŠ-ŠE (or DU ?)-ŠI-LU-KU, GIŠ-PA-ŠI-LU-KU, all rendered by a word beginning *šip-pa-(tu ?)*. The last ideogram is repeated with the rendering *uptu* or *artu*. These are entered by Meissner. From this line to the end of col. I, line 85, Rm. 367 completes K. 4257. The latter ended with GIŠ-ŠIM-AN-NIN-IB = *ni-ki-ip-tu*.

Col. II of K. 4257 began with GIŠ-ŠIM-MEŠ-LI, for which Rm. 357 has GIŠ-ŠIM-SAL; the former renders *ši-meš-ša-lu-ú*, the latter *ši-meš-ša-lu-u*. Rm. 367 gives next GIŠ-ŠIM-MEŠ-LA = ditto, K. 4257 omits that. Both resume with GIŠ-LI = *bu-ra-šu*. In line 5, K. 4257 reads *kiš-ki-ra-an-ni*, Rm. 367 has *kir-ki-ra-nat*, or *kil-ki-ra-nat*. Then the next five lines are alike. Rm. 367 then gives nine lines, of which K. 4257 only preserves the traces of GIŠ-ŠIM, and has nothing after line 24. Rm. 367 gives 54 lines which may have come in col. II, but there were evidently many more besides, I reckon at least twenty.

Col. III of K. 4257 begins with Reverse, col. II, line 17, of Rm. 367, both having GIŠ-TÊR GIŠ-ŠUR-MAN. As this is the first line of a new column, K. 4257 renders *kišti ša*, while Rm. 367 has "ditto," i.e., *kištu*. What K. 4257 had next I cannot read, it seems to be 'ár, but I have no confidence in the reading.

Next both read GIŠ-TÊR GIŠ-ĦA-ŠUR = ditto *ħašur*; GIŠ-TÊR GIŠ-A-TU-GAB-[¶] = ditto *šar-ba-ti*; GIŠ-TER GIŠ-MA-NA = ditto *éri*; GIŠ-NU-UR-MA = *šú-u*. Then K. 4257 has GIŠ-LAL-DAR-RA = ditto, but Rm. 367 renders in full, *nu-ur-mu-u*. K. 4257 gives the next two ideograms only, but Rm. 367 preserves their renderings and gives the renderings of the next five lines partly.

On the reverse of K. 4257, col. IV began with GIŠ-SA-KUR, and had over eighty lines, the renderings of which are either completely gone or too broken to restore, until what I call line 32. Then we have GIŠ-BAR BUR = *gi-tap*. . . . As GIŠ-BAR began a group in line 30, *gi-tap* must be part of the meaning of GIŠ-BAR. The *tap* is quite

ERRATA.

Vol. XXVI, p. 280, l. 3 } For "Jastrof" read "Jastrow".
,, p. 281, l. 28 }



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VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, 8th February, 1905.

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" " Remarques détachées sur
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From the Author, M. G. Legrain.—*La Princesse Mirit-Tafnouit.*"

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society :—

C. F. Oldham, Esq., Brigade Surgeon, Indian Army, *Retired*.

The following Paper was read :—

G. ST. CLAIR, ESQ. : "The Antediluvian Patriarchs."

The Paper was commented on by Dr. Gaster, Rev. J. Tuckwell, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE DISCOVERY OF ARCHAIC HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS IN ASIA MINOR.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D., &c.*

(*Continued from page 31.*)

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The remarkable resemblance of the newly-found inscriptions, in their palæography, forms of expression, theology and territorial titles, to one of the Carchemish inscriptions on the one side and to the inscriptions of Boghaz-Keui, Bei-Keui and Lydia on the other, goes far towards verifying my old hypothesis of a Hittite empire which once extended from the Euphrates to the shores of the Ægean.¹¹ It may be that the tumulus discovered by Prof. Ramsay near Bei-Keui, to which I have referred above, marks the grave of the prince who led the Hittite troops to Lydia, and by whose orders the image of the mother of the gods was sculptured on the cliff of Sipylus. At any rate a starting-point has at last been found for determining the age of the Hittite texts.

More than once I have had to refer to Khalma or Khalama, the name under which this mother-goddess was specially known at Carchemish. Since Aleppo is called in the Assyrian inscriptions Khalma-n, that is the Hittite Khalma-na "the land of Khalma," the goddess must have been worshipped under the same name in the neighbouring city of Aleppo. Many years ago I pointed out in the *Academy* that geography demands our seeing in the Helam of 2 Sam. x, 16, 17) the Khalma-n of the cuneiform texts, and in the pages of Josephus Helam becomes Khalaman, who is transformed into a person.¹² In Egyptian we have Khilib and Khilib instead of

¹¹ Carchemish is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence on a mutilated tablet (Berlin 233), though the passage has not hitherto been noticed. We there read: "... [Gar-]ga-mis ... [the property] of mine ... they (?) the men of Carchemish) have taken."

¹² Shobach, the captain of Hadadezer's army, whose name is also written Shophach, is formed similarly to the Hittite Lupakku mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Khalma-n, the Mitannian *ḫ* taking the place of the Hittite *m* as in Tunip (Hittite Tuna-mâ), Arabissus (*i.e.*, Arami-ssos) and other names. On a "Cappadocian" seal-cylinder now in the Berlin Museum we find the name of Akhlib, with a transposition of the vowel of the first syllable not uncommon in the Assyrian transliteration of foreign names.

Now I had long been puzzled by the fact that in the inscriptions of Carchemish the king or high-priest calls himself *Khalam-mes Gargamesius*, and at first supposed that Khalammes represented a proper name. But its occurrence in two inscriptions, one of which at all events belonged to a king with a totally different name, as well as on the Bowl and at Bulgar-Maden, made it evident that this supposition must be false. The true meaning of the word was revealed only after I had observed the way in which the suffix *-mes* was used in other words. Thus on the Layard seals *Id. Sanda-mes* is "the seal of Sandes," "the Sandian seal,"¹³ and *Khalam-mes* will correspondingly be "belonging to Khalma," "the Khalamite." But even after arriving at this conclusion I remained blind to its real significance until when reading over again the cylinder inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, I noticed that he describes the Akhlamê or "Akhlamites," whose name is familiar to Assyriologists, as inhabiting the country from the borders of the Shuhites on the Balikh northwards "as far as Carchemish," and as possessing cities at the foot of mount Baserê, now Tel Basher. Carchemish, therefore, was in the district of the Akhlamê, and when we remember the equivalence of the cuneiform Akhlîb-sar and the Egyptian Khilîp-sar, it becomes obvious that the Akhlamê of the Assyrian scribes are the Khalamme of the Hittite texts. As the people of Ararat were called Khaldians after their god Khaldi, so the population in and about Carchemish were called Khalamites after the goddess Khalma. So striking a result ought to convince the most sceptical that my decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs is on the right lines.

Khalma or Khalama, "the place of Khal" or "Khala" is itself a derivative. Hence I am not surprised to find in Assyrian legal documents published by Mr. Johns, numerous proper names—Khali-ilu "Khali is a god," Khalê-abu "Khalê is a father," Khali-iddi, Khala-mu'su, Khala-suri—which show that Khala or Khali was a god. Khal-ma "the place of Khala," on the other hand, was

¹³ In M. XXXIX, 6, the second character is *da* (No. 43), as an inspection of the original has disclosed to me.

a goddess representing a state, and, like other Hittite goddesses, would accordingly have worn the mural crown. The great goddess-mother herself was regarded as the cultivated earth, and the figure of the goddess of Carchemish now in the British Museum holds in her right hand a plough, the symbol of the city and of the other products of human labour. In her left hand is her title "the goddess Amma," but her name at Carchemish was more specifically Khalma, derived from the neighbouring city of Khalma-n or Aleppo. Even in classical times the river Kuwêk, on which Aleppo stands, still bore the name of Khalos, and the district into which it flowed was known as Khalkis (now Kinnesrîn) which, like "Cilicia," was an equivalent of the Hittite Khal-gha. At Karaburna (M. XLVI, 2) Khalma is called Khal-gha-na "of the land of Khal-ghas," though the Tyana text (M. XXXIII, A. 2) shows that this is Cilicia and not the Syrian Khalkis. The latter name, by the way, is thus proved to have had no connection with the Greek Khalkis. The vowel of the first syllable varied from *a* to *i*; Khila-ruadas is the name of two kings of Malatīyeh mentioned in the Vannic inscriptions, and Cilicia was called Khalukka as well as Khilakka by the Assyrians.

On Hittite seals Khalma is conjoined not only with Aramis of Carchemish (M. XLIII, 8) but also with Sandes (M. XLI, 1). Sandes, as we learn from "the inscription of Babylon" (M. II), was (like Tessub in Mitanni) identified with the Syrian Hadad, whose figure is engraved on the stela, and Hadad, according to Shalmaneser II, was the patron god of Aleppo.

Westward of Aleppo lies the old site of Termanîn, which Mr. Tomkins long since identified with the Tarmanna of Thothmes III. But it is also the Tarmana-zi of Shalmaneser II, who places it in the territory of the Khattinâ, Tarmanna-zi being derived from Tarmana by means of the patronymic suffix which is variously represented as *-si* and *-zi* by the Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek scribes. Tarma-na itself is "the land of Tarma," like Tarkhu-na, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, from which the name of the Hittite king Tarkhu-na-zi "the son of the land of Tarkhu" has come. The Greek Syennesis must be of a similar formation, though whether we are to see in the first syllable the name of the god Sawa and so make the name Suê-na-si "son of the land of Suê," it is impossible to say. The divine name may be Zuin, which, in the Cappadocian cuneiform inscriptions, represents the Assyrian Sin.

But however this may be, Tar-ma is a formation similar to Khal-ma, and presupposes an original Tar. The same fact is evidenced by the allied names of Tar-khu or Tar-qu and Tara-sis, which we find in Lycaonia in the Greek period, not to speak of Tar-zi or Tarsus (Tarshish). Who Tar was must be left to future research to discover.

APPENDIX.

HITTITE SEALS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. (See Plate.)

I have added copies of eleven Hittite seals now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, all of which are unpublished, with the exception of three (8, 9 and 10) which have been given by Messerschmidt, but incorrectly, his copies having been made from defective photographs or impressions, and in one case from a faulty copy of my own. Accordingly I reproduce them here:—

1. From Boghaz-Keui. It reads *arame* DET. *Sanda-ani* “(seal) of king Sanda-anis,” the Greek Sandanis (Hdt. I, 71). On the left is the trident of Tarku or Sawa, with the sacred stone above it; cp. M. XLIII, 1.

2a, 2b. Obverse and reverse of another seal. On the obverse is the double-headed eagle of Eyuk, flanked on either side by the symbol of Attys (the phallus on an altar-table).

3. Ring of silvered bronze said to come from Samsûn, bought in Cairo. The name of Khalma is written on it, *Khal-me-a*. Perhaps it reads: “Of Khalma-sar king of the land of . . .”

4. Bronze seal, from the collection of the late Mr. R. P. Greg. Perhaps we should read *a-me-i . . . me-wa* “I am of . . . mewas,” since *a* has two dots on either side of it.

5. Silver pommel or boss, bought in Constantinople in 1903, and surrounded by a border similar to that of the sealing in M. X 4, 3, 2, 4. It is possible that the cross immediately below “the sacred stone” may be intended for the character *was*.

6. On a grey stone, bought at Aintab and said to come from Tell Basher. On the obverse is the figure of a man standing, with peaked tiara, bow behind the back, and an undefined object in the left hand. The object on the left of the inscription is the sword which appears in M. X, 4, 13 and 17, and which is replaced by a hand holding a sword on a splendid gold ring obtained by Prof. Ramsay at Konia, and now in the Ashmolean Museum. It will mean “warrior,” “hero,” or the like.



I



Obverse



II

Reverse



III



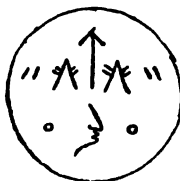
IV



V



VI



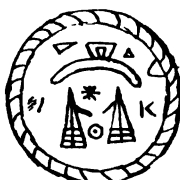
VII



VIII



IX



X



XI

HITTITE SEALS.

(In the Ashmolean Museum.)

7. On a red stone from Aintab, said to come from Tell Basher. It seems to read from below upwards: *ana-me-was* DET. "the kingly."

8. This seems to be the original of the seal less correctly given in M. XLII, 7, 8, unless the latter has made its way from the possession of Count von Mülinen to Oxford. The name reads: . . -*a-na-amma* which reminds us of Panammu.

9. Bought at Aintab and said to come from Tell Basher. The obverse, which is here reproduced, is less correctly given in M. XLV, 4. On the reverse is: "king of the city of Nini."

10. Bought at Smyrna in 1889 and less correctly published by myself in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute (1890) XLVII, pp. 215 sq., from which Messerschmidt has taken his copy (M. XLV, 3). The compound character (under Sanda) on one of M. Schlumberger's sealings (M. X, 4, 17) must be corrected from the Smyrna seal.

11. Seal in the possession of Count A. Palma di Cesnola, Florence.



GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.**(Continued from page 20.)*

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-LABELS.

1. Rough square, unpainted : letters deeply incised. 6" × 5½".

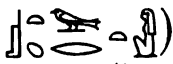
CTΗΛΗ
ΟΑΡCEN
ΤΟΥΠΑ
ΝΟΠΟΛΙ

Στηλη Ἀρσενίου Πανοπολί(του). "Stele of Arsenios, Panopolite."
From Akhmim (Panopolis) IIIrd Cent. A.D. [No. 21638.]

2. Oblong ; two perforated handles. Letters incised, painted red. 8½" × 2¾".

ΕCΘΗΡΙC ΕΒΙ
ΩCCN L̄Θ


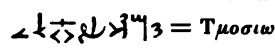
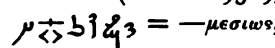








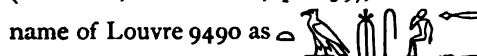
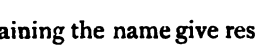
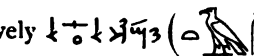




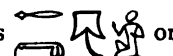

sic

Εσοηρίς εβιωσεν L̄Θ : "Esoëris has lived 9 years." LE BLANT 88. The name is the same as that of the "Old-Coptic" label of the Berlin Museum, No. 10541, **Ἐϣἔϣἔϣἔ**, Esouëřë ("Isis the Great," ) which becomes on the Greek side of the label Εσουηρίς. (STEINDORFF, *Zwei altkoptische Mumienetiketten*, Ä. Z., xxviii (1890) p. 50) cf. Ετεουρίς, No. 55, below. [No. 9892.]

3. Oblong, with one perforation. 5¼" × 2¼". Letters incised.

Τουωνσις
Ἀρνωτου μητ(ρος)
Θμεσιωτος
Lνγ

"Touōnsis (daughter?) of Haryōtēs (and her?) mother Thmesiōs.
53 years (old)."

Θμεσιω^ς on the British Museum bilingual label No. 23204 =  *Ta-mesiet*, "the child" (f). M. REVILLOUT's variants 3 and 18 (Louvre 9329, 9490) read  = Τμεσιω^ς and  = —μεσιω^ς, respectively. M. REVILLOUT read the first form (No. 3) as  *Ta-mes-āat*, and translated it "la grande fille." But No. 18 he read  *Ta-mes-āa*, and translated "la petite de l'âne." But this reading is doubtful: <> cannot be , but must be , as usual: the demotic form of   is   (BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 159), so that we must transliterate the name of Louvre 9490 as  the last sign being doubtful. Two other bilingual labels of the British Museum containing the name give respectively  *Ta-mes-āat*, "the big child" (f.) = —θμεσιω^ς, and  (), the same, = Θμεσιω^ς. Since then the majority of the bilinguals give the meaning "the big child," I should be inclined to regard the  of Louvre 9490 as simply a mistake of the scribe; possibly, too, the omission of the  in B.M. 23204 is a mistake, as one would expect the Greek equivalent of simple  to be Θμωσιω^ς rather than Θμεσιω^ς. I know of no such personal name as  or  = Ιω^ς, Φιω^ς, "the Ass," from which by analogy the name Thmesios might be derived. [No. 26677.]

4. Oblong; two perforations. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. Incised.

ΤΟΥΛΩΝΕ

i.e., ΤΟΥΛΩΝΑΙ or ΤΟΥΛΩΝΑΕΩ^ς. Cf. No. 3.

[No. 23200.]

5. Oblong, one perforation. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$. Incised over writing.




OBV.	Rv.
Ταμενε	υιος Πα
Λλβ	χουμις

ΠΙΦΙΩΤΕ

This may mean "Tamēnē," 32 years (old). Piphīōte, son of Pakhoumis," thus mentioning two persons, Tamene and Piphīōte.

ΠΙΦΙΩΤΕ may however be an Egyptian word written in Greek letters, and mean simply "his father" (πεφειωτ,



Such "Old Coptic" forms are found: cf. STEINDORFF, *l.c.*, p. 49. We shall then read "Tamene, 32 years. His father, son of Pakhoumis." This again may refer to two persons, Tamene and his father, who was son of Pakhoumis, or may refer simply to Tamene, father of a person unnamed, and son of Pakhoumis. The nominative case of Παχουμις need not trouble us: the Egyptians were inclined to ignore Greek inflections, having themselves an uninflected language. But Ταμενε, again, appears to be a woman's name rather than a man's (Ta-Min "She who belongs to Min") and Piphīōte may be the same as Πεβωτ or Πεβως,    "the Panther." [No. 24548.]

6. Oblong, one end tapering. $4'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. Letters incised.

Πεσοντις Πα
χουμις

[No. 24491.]

7. As 6.


Πανουπις
Πεσοντις

[No. 24450.]

8. As 6.

Πετεριφις
Πεσοντις

[No. 24458.]

The three labels above (6, 7, 8) are cut by the same hand, and each bears on the Rev. a design  incised. The Pesontis son of

Pakhoumis of 6 is evidently the father of the Panoupis and Petetriphios of 7 and 8, sons of Pesontis. The name Παχουμης (ΠΑΧΩΠ, *Pa-ahomau*, "the Eagle"; cf. Παβήκις, "the Hawk") was common for Πεττριφ(ο)ς: v. No. 38. Πεσοντις appears to equal *Pasonti*, "He who belongs to the *Sont* tree," cf. No. 51, below.

Πανουπις =  *Pa-Anup*, "He who belongs to Anubis."

9. Square, with pierced handle. $3\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{7}{8}''$. Letters incised.

ΠΑΝΟΥ
ΠΙΣ Ν
ΠΑΧΩΠ
ΙΙΡΗΣ

Πανουπις ν', Παχοπηρης: "Panoupis the younger (νεώτερος), (son of?) Pakhopērēs" (?). The name Παχοπηρης is Pa-Kheprā (Pakhopiri), "He belongs to the god Kheprā." [No. 23220.]

10. Oblong, with two pierced handles. $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. Letters incised.

ΒΗΣΙCΠΕΝ

Βησις Πεν[. . .

i.e., "Bēsis son of Pen . . . ," the first three letters only of the father's name being given. [No. 23203.]

11. As 10. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3''$.

ΑΘΑΣΑΡΕΟΥ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΤΕΝΕΦΘΙΜΙC ΔΗΤ
ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΑC ΧΗ

Ἀθασαρεου το(ν) καὶ Πετενεφθιμις μητ(ρον) Διονυσιας, Λη.

"Of Athasareos, also called Petenephthimis, (son of his) mother Dionysia. 18 years (old)." Late IIIrd Cent. [No. 26442.]

12. As 10. 7" × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Απολλως

εξηγητης

ετων ν

ευψυχει

"Apollōs the dragoman, 50 years old. Farewell!" Cf. LE BLANT 72 (Turin). [No. 29516.]

13. Oblong: pierced handle. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Letters incised.

ΣΕΝΠΑ
ΧΟΝ' ΤΙ
ΘΟΗΤΟΣ

Σενπαχου(μιος) Τιθοητος.

"Of Senpakhoumis (daughter) of 'Tithoēs." For Σενπαχουμις, cf. No. 59 and v. No. 60. With Τιθόης cf. Τιτόης and Τιτοήτης, PARTHEY, *Aegyptische Personennamen*, p. 152, and the Coptic name ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲉ (ZOEGA, *Catalogus*, 372). It = Σισοῖς, ΧΙΧΩΙ. (See No. 52, below.) [No. 26440.]

14. As 13. 4" × 2". Letters incised.

ΘΑΤΡΗΣ
ΚΟΡΤΟΟ
ΛΚΖ

Θατρης ΚΟΡΤΟΟ Λκζ: "Of Thatrē 27 years (old)."

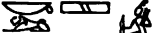
Θατρη "the Mare" or "the Twin (f)." ΚΟΡΤΟΟ is probably the beginning of her father's name. [No. 26441.]

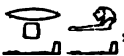
15. As 13, with string in place. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Letters incised: handle above, instead of to left of, the inscription.

ΚΑΛΑ
CIPIC
NCΩ
ΠΡΟΣ
ΓΛ

LE BLANT, 91, reads, Καλασιριν νεωτερον (ετων) γλ, "Kalasiris the younger, 33 (years old)." Such a transposition as γλ for λγ is

not uncommon. For the name, cf. LE BLANT, I-4, PARTHEY, *l.c.*, p. 46.

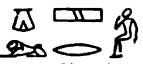
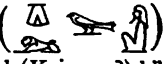
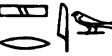








The name *Καλάσιρις* is interesting in connection with the well-known Egyptian words *Καλασίριες*, the designation of a division of the Egyptian soldiery, and *καλάσιρις*, a linen vestment, handed down to us by HERODOTOS (ii, 164-168 ; vii, 89 ; ix, 32 ; ii, 81). These words remained unexplained until, in 1847, BIRCH discovered in a papyrus of Roman date the proper name  *Kelāsher*, of an

, or hereditary chief. The determinative showed that the name was of military origin, or denoted a soldier, and the identification with the *Καλάσιρις* of HDT. ii, 164, was obvious. (*Revue Archéologique* IV (1847-8) p. 195).¹¹ LETRONNE then showed that *Καλάσιρις* was common enough as a proper name (*ib.*, p. 196), and the identification was generally accepted. But the meaning of the word was yet to seek. DE SAULCY endeavoured to explain why it was that *καλάσιρις* should mean at the same time both a soldier and a tunic, and found the task "pas très difficile" (*ib.*, p. 430). He cut the knot by finding the original of the word in *σάλας πεπαι*, "a leathern jacket." A leathern jacket would probably be worn by soldiers, hence the meaning of *Καλασίριες* (HDT. ii, 164), "the leatherjackets"; and, since a jacket was a jacket, whether of leather or of linen, the *καλάσιρις* of HDT. ii, 81¹² could equally well be explained as *οὐ σαλας πεπαι*! But the weakness of the last argument seems to have struck even its author ; and so he proposed instead, as the origin of the *καλάσιρις*-tunic, the expression *σάλας εἰσπαι*, 'vestis ad cutem,' "a garment worn next the skin," a correction of JABLONSKI's earlier explanation *χωλὸς εἰσπαι*. The words of Herodotos however convey the idea, neither of a cuirass nor of an undervest, though *κίθων* could mean either, but of the ordinary long Egyptian linen shirt with tasselled skirts which clung about the legs. Such was no doubt the *τρυφοκαλάσιρις*, a woman's garment, which appears in a fragment (309) from the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes. It may or may not have

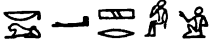
¹¹ The reference given by BRUGSCH (*Wörterbuch*, p. 1499) to "Rev. Arch., 1867, p. 194," is erroneous.


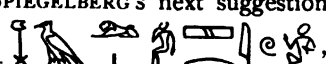
¹² *ἐνδεύκασι* (sc. οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι) δι' κίθωνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτοὺς, τοὺς καλίουσι καλασίρις.

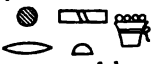
been worn next the skin, so that its explanation as $\sigma\delta\delta\lambda\epsilon$ $\rho\delta\psi\epsilon\rho$ seems very doubtful: this explanation was not accepted by BIRCH, and WIEDEMANN (*Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter*, p. 24) says, "Als Bezeichnung eines Kleidungsstückes, also welche auch Pollux, *Onom.* vii, cap. 16 *καλάσις* anführt, hat dagegen in Aegyptischen das Wort bisher nicht gefunden."

DE SAULCY'S far-fetched explanation of the military *Καλασις* as the "Leatherjackets" BIRCH at once refused to accept, and brought forward a variant  *Geleßer*, which, on account of its determinative, he immediately recognized to be the same as the Coptic $\text{Ḥ}\epsilon\lambda\psi\eta\rho\iota$, $\text{Ḥ}\rho\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$, known long before to mean a 'manly youth.' So BRUGSCH¹³ also translates the word, which appears in the Rhind Papyrus as $\text{Ḥ}\epsilon\lambda\text{---}$  (*Kal-sere*, as "'der kleine' oder 'junge Kar oder Kal (Krieger?)'." This last spelling of the word showed that the last part of the word was undoubtedly , *serà*, "young," so that WIEDEMANN'S idea (*Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 574) of *Kelüsher* being of Libyan origin, apparently because the word is often determined by a befeathered archer, will not hold. It now remained to discover the origin of the first part of the word. The Coptic $\text{Ḥ}\epsilon\lambda\text{---}$, $\text{Ḥ}\rho\text{---}$ pointed to a word beginning with  or ; the  or  of Roman days would then be a corruption. BRUGSCH considered that he had discovered the needed phrase in the old expression  *šerâu herâu* (?), "fighting youth." (*B. W.S.*, p. 958.) The accuracy of this identification rests on the determination of the value of the sign . If it is only to be read *āha* or *āḥa*, and not  *her* (*khar* or *khal*), as it was by BRUGSCH, then the identification must fall to the ground. There seems to be little reason for thinking that  was read *hr* as well as *āha*; so this explanation must also be abandoned, and we can be content with the explanation given in *B. IV.*, p. 1499.¹⁴

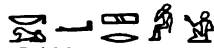
¹³ *B. IV.*, p. 1499.

¹⁴ The word occurs in the Egyptian from *Καλεσηρ* (SPIEGELBERG, *loc. cit.*) and as  in the name of a Romano-Egyptian official for whom a British Museum papyrus, edited by Dr. BUDGE, 1899, was written.

[BRUGSCH's explanation of the word as *Kalšere* left the meaning of the element *Kal-* unexplained: SPIEGELBERG (*loc. cit.*, p. 17*) has explained it: he says, "Ich möchte hier zunächst unter allem Vorbehalt der Vermutung Ausdruck geben: dass *G(k)lšrj* (*i.e.*, ) = *Καλασίρης* eine dialektische Nebenform von *Σραγίρε* = *Σελγίρε*: *Σραγίρε* ist (this was already pointed out by BIRCH as long ago as 1847: Prof. SPIEGELBERG's next suggestion is, however, new) und wie dieses auf , "kleiner Syrer," zurückgeht. Aus Syrischen Söldnern wäre zunächst der Begriff "Soldat" entwickelt, wie die libyschen *mđj* [*i.e.*, *młi*], "Söldner," *𐤌𐤍𐤕𐤐𐤓* "Soldat," ergeben haben. Sollte nach einer schönen Vermutung Masperos (*Histoire des Peuples de l'Orient* iii, 500 f.) dieser Name in den *Ἑρμοτύβιες* stecken, so würde Herodot—vorausgesetzt dass sich meine Vermutung bestätigt—von syrischen (*Καλασίριες*) und libyschen (*Ἑρμοτύβιες*) Söldnern sprechen, es würde also also nur von zwei Klassen der Söldnertruppen die Rede sein, und Herodot würde diese Einteilung einer bestimmten Soldatenklasse auf das gesamte Heer irrtümlich übertragen haben."]¹⁴



A possibility of confusion with another word presents itself. There is an old word , *herēšet* or *helešet*, denoting the packet or clip of four arrows used by the Egyptians before the true quiver was introduced from Asia.¹⁵ It may be possible that the word *Καλασίριες* has also something to do with this word, and denotes an archer: there may be a confusion between *herēšet* and *Kalšere*.

The examination of the two words *καλασίριες* having been carried thus far by BIRCH and BRUGSCH, it seems odd to find Professor SAYCE annotating HDT. ii, 164, as follows, "Egyptian *Kelāshir*, 'armed with leather,' from the garment mentioned in ch. 81." The originator of the "leather-jacket" explanation, DE SAULCY, himself saw that the *καλασίριες* of HDT. ii, 81, wore, not leathern jackets, but *κίθωνας λινέους*, and that if a word means "armed with leather,"

¹⁴ The word occurs in the Egyptian from *Καλεσηρι* (SPIEGELBERG, *loc. cit.*) and as  in the name of a Romano-Egyptian official for whom a British Museum papyrus, edited by Dr. BUDGE, 1899, was written.

¹⁵ MASPERO, in GRÉBAUT's *Musée Égyptien*, p. 33.

you cannot very well derive it from another which means a linen shirt. STEIN's note, *ad loc.*, begins "Die Καλασίριες (ægyptisch *Kelaschir*, 'Lederbepanzerte,' nach Brugsch) waren vermutlich nach dem oben, c. 81, 3. beschriebenen Gewande, welches καλάσιρις hiess, benannt." This does not mean, however, that STEIN believed it possible that a word meaning "leather-cuirassed" could be derived from one meaning "linen shirt." There is a tone of doubt implied in the words "'Lederbepanzerte,' nach Brugsch." The mere fact of STEIN's deriving the Καλασίριες from καλάσιρις (as "the shirted men"), on the analogy of an impossible derivation of the ἑρμούβριες from ἡμιτύβιον "a towel" (ARISTOPHANES, *Ploutos*, 729), shows that he did not necessarily accept the translation 'Lederbepanzerte,' which he ascribes to BRUGSCH.¹⁶

The proper name Καλάσιρις, then, is the same as the military term of HDT. ii, 164, &c., meaning "young warrior": the Καλασίριες being the "young warriors," the successors of the  *ḥunu neferu* and  *ā'etū* of earlier times. Καλάσιρις the linen chitôn is an altogether distinct word, the original form and meaning of which are not yet clear. Some linen garment habitually worn by Καλασίριες may have been called after them. [No. 9893.]

¹⁶ I cannot find any passage in which BRUGSCH definitely adopts DE SAULCY's explanations. In *Wbch.*, p. 1499, he speaks of "καλάσιρις als Panzer," but I can find no mention of leather.

(To be continued.)



SAHIDIC BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

By E. O. WINSTEDT.

III.

The other three gospels are not so well represented among these fragments as that of St. Matthew. Of St. Luke it is true there are three fragments; but they are all very small. Of St. John there is but one, and the epistles are equally poorly represented. The bulk of the present article consists of a collation of six pages, not all from the same MS., but all containing passages from the Acts of the Apostles. As they add only one verse to those already published, and the complete text would swell this article to an undue length, they are not printed *in extenso*, but collated with the text of Woide's Appendix.

A small parchment fragment from *MS. Coptic*, g. 3, containing Luke i, 1 (*cf.* Balestri, p. 136).

ΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ
ΙΑΗΠΕΡΑΖΑΖ
ΟΤΟΤΕCΖΑΙ
· ΕΤΒΕ
ΝΤΑΥ

VERSO.

ΔΙΑΖΤΕ Μ
ΜΟΥΤ
ΑΥΩ
ΑΥΝ

The Borgan version is $\overline{\Theta\text{ΠΙΔΕΠ}} \text{ Α ΖΑΖ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΤCΖΑΙ}\overline{\text{ΝΘΝ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΜΑΧΕ}} \cdot \text{ΕΤΒΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ} \cdot \overline{\text{ΝΤΑΥΤΩΤ}\overline{\text{Ν}}}\overline{\text{ΖΗΤ}} : \text{ΕΖΡΑΙ} \overline{\text{Μ}}\overline{\text{ΖΗΤ}\overline{\text{Ν}}} :$

The verso I cannot identify, unless it is part of v. 12 running (ΟΥΖΟΤΕ) ΔΙΑΖΤΕ ΜΟΟΥ ΜΟΥΤ(ΟΥΤΡ), or something of the kind, which would be quite different from the Borgan version. It may, however, be part of the last chapter of Matthew, as the word ΔΙΑΖΤΕ occurs in verse 9.

A small fragment from *MS. Coptic*, g. 3, of which the verso contains Luke xi, 50-51. Apparently it is not from a bible, as the

recto, though containing a reminiscence of earlier verses of the chapter, is not a literal translation (*cf.* Balestri, p. 167).

PH
 ΔΦΑΡΧΕΙΝ
 ΤΗΣΝΥΟ
 ΤΗΣΤΒΘ
 ΘΥΠΟΚΙ
 ΣΑΙΟΣ
 ΕΘ

VERSO.

PL
 ΒΙΓΕΝΘΑ
 ΒΕΛΠΑΙ
 ΟΦΙΛΑ
 ΓΤΑΚΟΦ
 ΑΣΤΗ

The Borgian version runs : ΕΒΟΛΖΙΤΟΘΤΕ ΠΓΕΝΘΑ ΧΙΝ
 ΠΕΣΝΟΦ ΝΑΒΘΑ · ΨΑ ΠΕΣΝΟΦ Π ΖΑΧΑΡΙΔΣ · ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΚΟΦ
 ΜΤΗΝΤΕ ΠΠΘΥΓΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

MS. Coptic, g. 3. A parchment fragment containing a few letters of Luke xxii, 29-30 (*cf.* Woide, p. 69).

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 ΜΕΡΟΝΟC
 ΚΡΙΝΕΝΤ
 Α
 Ε
 Ε

ΝΑΤ
 ΖΩΤ
 ΠΗΤΗ
 ΩΤCΠΙ
 ΝΟΥΠ
 ΤΠ
 C
 ΝΤΑΥΝΤ
 ΝΤΕΤΝΖΙ
 ΜΕΡΟΝΟC
 ΚΡΙΝΕΝΤ
 Α
 Ε
 Ε

(ΖΗΘΟΖΙΖΙΝΘΕΡΟΝΟC, Balestri.)

(ΖΙΧΠ ΝΕΤΠΘΕΡΟΝΟC, Woide.)

The verso is most illegible. I could only make out clearly one word, **αρχιερευς**, which might come from the beginning or the end of the same chapter. Some lines above that word is a stroke and mark in red ink, which must either indicate the beginning of a chapter, or if the leaf comes from a lectionary, the beginning of the passage selected for reading.

MS. Coptic, g. 3. A parchment fragment containing John xi, 27-29, 32-34 (*cf.* Woide, 91-92).

ⲭ

ⲃⲓⲁⲛⲟⲕⲧⲛⲓ

ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲭⲓⲛⲧⲟⲕ

(ⲭⲉ, Woide.)

ⲛⲉⲭⲥⲡⲱⲛⲓ

ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉⲛ

ⲛⲛⲧⲉⲛⲕⲟ ⲛ

(ⲛⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲱⲟⲥ, Woide.)

ⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲭ

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲥⲃⲱ

ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲧ ⲓⲁⲧⲉⲥ

ⲥⲱⲛ ⲉⲥⲭⲱⲛ

ⲛⲟⲥⲛⲁⲥⲛⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ

ⲭⲉⲁⲛⲕⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲁⲩⲱ

(ⲭⲉⲛⲕⲁⲩ, Woide.)

ⲟⲩⲧⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲟ

ⲭⲉⲁⲛⲕⲁⲩ, Frag. Nan.)

ⲁⲉⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱⲧⲓ

VERSO. ⲭⲱⲛⲱⲟⲥ

ⲛⲭⲟⲩⲉⲓⲥⲉⲛⲉⲕ

ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁ

(ⲛⲛⲓⲛⲁ, Woide.)

ⲟⲩ ⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲉ

ⲓⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ

ⲉⲣⲟⲥⲉⲥⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲱ

ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ

ⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲥⲉⲧⲣⲓⲛⲉ

ⲁⲕⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲣⲉⲓ

ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁⲛⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁ

ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱⲛⲉ

ⲭⲁⲕⲭⲓⲛⲁⲧⲉⲧⲓ

(ⲭⲉⲛⲧⲁ, Woide.)

ⲕⲁⲁⲕⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ

ⲭⲁⲩⲛⲁⲕⲭⲉⲛⲭⲟ

MS. Coptic, d. 4. This MS. consists of six paper leaves containing fragments of the Acts of the Apostles, but not all taken from the same MS. The second and third, both unfortunately mutilated, are obviously written in the same rather graceful sloping hand with twenty-five lines to the page. The fourth and sixth, too, are identical, in a handwriting, black, stiff, upright and not at all prepossessing, with twenty-three lines to the pages. The first, a page of twenty-six lines, and the fifth, a page of twenty-three lines, are both in sloping hands, very like that of the second and third, but not, I think, identical with it, nor yet with one another.

All the verses here given, with the exception of Acts vii, 56, will be found in Woide, pp. 123-161, from whose text I give the variant readings.

The first fragment consists of one page containing Acts vii, 53-viii, 4; the variants from Woide's text are:—

VII. 55. After $\Delta\tau\omega\iota\bar{\varsigma}$ is inserted the word $\dot{\iota}\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

56. This verse is omitted in the MS. used by Woide, here it is given, $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\delta\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\zeta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\tau\dot{\iota}\nu\pi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\eta\mu\cdot$
 $\Delta\tau\omega\eta\sigma\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\omega\iota\epsilon\cdot\epsilon\varphi\alpha\zeta\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\bar{\varsigma}\eta\varsigma\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\mu\alpha\iota\iota$
 $\dot{\iota}\nu\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon.$

58. $\zeta\epsilon\rho\psi\iota\rho\epsilon$]. $\zeta\rho\psi\iota\rho\epsilon.$

60. $\Delta\varphi\alpha\psi\kappa\alpha\kappa$]. $\Delta\varphi\omega\psi.$

VIII. 1. $\varsigma\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon$]. $\varsigma\tau\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota.$

$\bar{\iota}\nu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\tau$]. $\zeta\bar{\iota}\nu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\tau.$

$\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\bar{\iota}\theta\alpha\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$]. $\omicron\tau\acute{\theta}\alpha\iota\psi\iota\varsigma.$

2. $\zeta\epsilon\eta\rho\omega\iota\epsilon$]. $\zeta\dot{\iota}\eta\rho\omega\iota\epsilon.$

$\bar{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varphi\bar{\rho}\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \Delta\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$]. $\bar{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varphi\bar{\rho}\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varphi\bar{\rho}\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon\cdot$
 $\Delta\tau\acute{\omega}.$

3. $\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\kappa\bar{\iota}$]. $\epsilon\varphi\varsigma\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\lambda\bar{\iota}.$

The second and third fragments are two consecutive pages from the same MS., containing Acts xi, 12-xii, 4. The pages had but one column, and have unfortunately been torn in half lengthwise, so that only about half the writing remains.

XI. 12. $\eta\mu\iota\alpha\tau\cdot\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}\Gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\eta\epsilon$]. $\eta\mu\iota\alpha\tau\cdot\eta\pi$; the rest is torn off; the second line beginning with $\Delta\tau\epsilon\iota.$

13. $\epsilon\theta\eta$]. $\eta\omicron\epsilon.$

14. **ΧΩΝΑΚΗΖΕΝΨΑΧΘ**. **ΧΩΘΡΨΑΧΘ**.

15. **ΟΗ ΖΗ**. **ΟΗ ΕΞ[Η]**.

There seems hardly space enough for [**ΠΘΒΗΤΑϞ**
ΧΟΟC · ΧΘΪΩΖΑΗ] in a line which already contains the
words **ΨΑΧΘΠΧΘΒΙC**, as it would make an unusually
long line.

17. **ΔΩΡΕΑ**. [**ΔΩ**]ραΐα.

18. **ΠΝΚΘΖΘΘ**. **ΠΠΖΘΘ**.

19. **ΕΒΟΛΖΠ**. **ΕΒΟΛΖΙ**.

ΠΠΤΚΥΠ. **ΠΠΚΥΠ**.

20. **ΠΒΑΥΩΠΚΥΡΙΠΠΑΙΟC**. These words are omitted.

ΕΥΤΑΨΘΟΒΙΨ. . . . **ΨΗΑΥ**.

22. **ΕΖΡΑΙΘ**. om. **Ε**.

ΘΙΛΗΠ. **ΘΙΕΛΗΠ**.

23. **ΠΕΥΡΩΠ**. **ΠΘΥΡ[ΩΠ]**.

26. **ΑΥΧΙΥϞ**. **ΑϞ**, which is apparently the beginning of

ΑϞΠΤϞ, the reading of Huntingdon 3.

ΑCΨΩΠΘ. **ΑCΨΩΠΘΔΕ**.

ΠΟΤΥΠΗΨ. [**ΠΟΤΥΠ**]ηΨ · **ΘΗΑΨΩ[Ϟ]**.

27. **ΖΕΠΠΡΟΦ**. **ΖΠΠΡΟΦ**.

28. **ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC**. **ΚΛΑΥΤΙΟC**.

29. **ΧΟΟΥ**. **ΧΟΟΥCΟΥ**.

XII. 3. **ΑϞΕΡΑΠΑΥ**. There is only room for one letter
between the **Ϟ** and the **Α**; presumably that letter
is **ρ**, though it is illegible.

4. **ΕΥΡΕΥΖΑΡΕΖ**. **ΕΖΑΡΕΖ**.

The fourth fragment is a single page, in the same handwriting as
the sixth. The upper part of the page has been cut off; it contains
Acts xi, 21-25 and 26-29.

XI. 21. **ΔΕΠΠΗΠΗΨ**. **ΠΠΠΗΨΔΕ**.

22. **ΙΛΗΠ**. **ΙΒΛΗΠ**.

ΔΗΔΙΟΧΙΑ. **ΔΗΤΙΟΧΙΑ**.

24. **ΠΕΥΡΩΠ**. **ΟΥΡΩΠ**.

26. **υηηυβ]. υηηυβ ἐναυωq.**
υογтв π]. υογтв ви.
ανδιουχια]. αντιουχια, and so again in the next verse.
νεχριστιανος]. ν̄χριστιανος.
27. **zenprophēti]. z̄m[π]ροφητης.**
28. **pan agabos aq]. πανπεαγαβος · εαq.**
29. **etēot]. etēt.**
ezrai]. zrai.

The fifth fragment is also a single sheet, and contains Acts xviii, 15-25.

- XVIII. 17. **zallani]. z̄allani.**
σωσθεννης]. σωσθενης.
prostxē]. ἰροςxē.
18. **nzēnkē]. n̄zēnkē.**
zastn̄nēs]. zatēnēs.
priskalla]. priskilla.
zēkē]. zēkē.
kegxreas]. kegxraias.
erht]. ἄρηт.
20. **sp̄sōp̄q]. sp̄sōp̄q̄.**
22. **kesaria]. kaīsarīa.**
23. **etaxro]. etaxro.**
24. **iotxai]. iōtxai.**
epēshtē]. e.
er̄ntq̄]. or̄ntq̄.

The sixth fragment is another leaf from the same MS. as the fourth, and contains Acts xxi, 34—xxii, 2.

- XXI. 34. **eiēepōrx]. eiēepōr̄x.**
exītq̄ e]. exītq̄ ezrai e.
36. **emerep̄laos gar]. mērep̄laos.**
etaykak]. etay.
37. **pehaq̄ π]. pehaq̄ ἡσι.**
pehaq̄naq̄ xē]. om. naq̄.

38. ΠΕΝΤΑΨΕΟΥΘ]. ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΟΣ.
ΠΝΘΙ]. ΠΝΙ.

ΕΡΗΜΟΣ]. ΗΡΗΜ.

39. ΠΤΕΚΤΑΚΙΑ]. ΠΤΚΤΑΚΙΑ.
ΜΟΥΠΟΛΟΣ]. ΜΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ.

40. ΕΧΗ]. ΖΙΧΗ.

ΑΦΚΙΗ]. ΑΦΚΑΗ.

ΣΟΡΕΖΤ]. ΣΟΡΑΖΤ.

ΧΩΜΜΟΣ]. ΧΩΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΤ.

XXII. 2. ΜΥΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΣΠΕΥΜΥΝΤ]. ΜΥΜΑΥ · ΨΥΜΝΤ.

From *MS. Coptic*, g. 1. A paper fragment, apparently of a sermon, containing several Biblical quotations.

Ω

ΘΙΟΥΝΤ

ΕΙΤΑΘΗΩΖΑΝΗΝΗΧΩΜΜΟΣΧΕ

ΠΡΠΙΣΤΕΤΕΥ ΠΝΑ ΝΙΗ · ΑΛΛΑ

ΔΟΚΙΜΑΧΕ ΜΝΕΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΝ ΘΙΟΥ

1 John, iv. 1.

ΧΕ ΖΗΝΕΒΟΛ ΖΥΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΘ ·

ΕΙΤΑ ΟΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΧΩΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΤΕ

ΤΝ ΜΟΣΤΕ ΕΠΠΙΘΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝ ΤΩ

Rom. xii. 9.

ΟΕΥΜΩΤΝ ΕΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ.

For the first quotation cf. Woide, p. 221, and Balestri, p. 453, where ΝΤΕΤΝ ΘΙΟΥ is omitted: and for the second cf. Balestri, p. 343, the only variant being ΠΠΠΕΘΟΟΥ for ΕΠΠΙΘΟΟΥ.

The verso is—

ΑΡ

ΕΝΤΟΛΗ

ΜΓΡΖΟΤΕ

ΠΑΙΠΕΠΟΥΩ

ΠΠΠΟΥΤΕ

ΤΕΝΟΥΤΕΝΑΙΒΡΑΤΕΒΙΣΖΗΝΤΕΑΤΕ

ΤΗΣΩΤΙΕΜΒΙΕΝΤΟΛΗΠΠΠΟΥΤΕ

ΠΠΩΡΣΕΤΕΝΟΥΤΕΤΡΕΠΟΥΑΠΟΥΑ

ΠΩΤΠΠΠΕΨΕΟΟΥ · ΗΤΕΨΒΑΛΠΕ

ΕΨΧΩΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΒΙΣΕΠΚΟΙΗ

“commandment. Do thou fear . . . this is the will of God. And now again my beloved, lo ! listen to this commandment of the Lord. Do not by any means one cause another to flee with his sheep or with his goat, saying . . . to bed (?)”

The first of these commandments, though I cannot identify as an actual quotation, is clearly a Biblical reference : the second I do not know and cannot identify. If it ever had either definite author or meaning it seems to have lost both in the lapse of ages, and all one can suggest is that the book from which it was taken was decidedly uncanonical.



THE ORDER OF THE LETTERS OF THE ALPHABET.

BY E. J. PILCHER.

In a previous article* I endeavoured to trace out the primary forms of the letters of the alphabet; and a comparison of the characters found in the most ancient Greek and Semitic inscriptions led to the opinion that the original letters must have been simple geometric combinations, related in their structure and capable of being arranged into definite groups, like the following:—

† ‡ §	T Z S
Γ γ Ƴ	G V H
ℒ ℓ ʾ	L N M
◌ ◌ ◌	D R B
○ ○ ◌	O P Q

The triad L N M may not appear at first sight to be quite so obviously related as the others; but if we suppose that the *Lamed* originally had some such form as *V*, then it will be seen that *VVV* easily give rise to the series *V ʾ ʾ* i.e., מנל. Even in the modern square Hebrew alphabet the head of the *ℒ* projects above the level of the other characters, and the same thing is to be noted in the ancient Phœnician and Aramaic

* *Proceedings*, XXVI, 168.

epigraphs; as though the longer stem of the letter \downarrow was recognised to be an extension of an earlier form \vee .

The last triad, O P Q, differs from the others in depending upon a circle as its radical element, whereas the four other triads are combinations of straight lines. This would seem to indicate that the fifth group was a later addition, and that the alphabet originally consisted of the twelve letters comprised in the first four triads.

Now, as is well known, the North Semitic Alphabet consists of twenty-two characters, arranged in a peculiar and definite order. *Abecedaria* have been found in Etruscan tombs of about the seventh century B.C. showing a precisely similar arrangement, with the addition of the four final *Greek* consonants. Thus there can be no doubt that when the alphabet was originally communicated to the Greeks, it comprised the twenty-two Semitic characters arranged in their accepted order.

If the primitive series was limited to the twelve letters already mentioned, it could be arranged thus :—

𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅

BRDHVG

𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋

MNLSZT

It will be remarked that this contains no notation for any peculiarly Semitic sound; and even supposing that B did duty for both \downarrow and \downarrow , and G for \downarrow , \downarrow and \downarrow , this embryonic alphabet would be very inadequate for writing any Semitic language. A sign would soon be needed for the initial breathing \aleph . This sign was provided from the first triad BRD. These letters were all formed from an angle \angle . A line to the right of this constitutes *Resh* \downarrow , a line to the left *Aleph* \uparrow .

Similarly, a sign was needed for the sibilant ψ ; and this was derived from the \uparrow , thus W.

As *Aleph* and *Lamed* were the only two characters with their branches to the *right* of the vertical line, it would not be surprising if the *Lamed* was shifted to the beginning of the second line, to equate it with the *Aleph* and make things symmetrical.

Caph פ being merely *Aleph* א reversed, was probably the next addition, and the alphabet thus reached the following stage :—

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ
 ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת
 פ ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ
 ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

So far there is no evidence of any appreciation of phonological principles, and there is nothing to show *why* particular sounds should be denoted by particular characters. But the mere effort to construct an alphabet for a language would inevitably lead to the recognition of the fact that vocal sounds fall into natural classes, and the subsequent development of the alphabet seems to be best explained by attempts at phonetic arrangement. Thus the best place for *Shin* would be next the two other sibilants *Samech* and *Zain*, making the series ת ש ז.

Then the triad B R D is phonetically bad ; but by the removal of *Resh*, and its replacement by *Gimel*, we attain the satisfactory grouping B G D, where the three typical soft explosives are ranged together. Now that *Gimel* and *Resh* had changed places, all the soft sounds were in the first row, and all the hard sounds in the second row, with the exception of *Zain*. The interchange of ר and ז makes the following order :—

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ
 ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

These fifteen characters, however, were still insufficient for the proper notation of a Semitic language, and it was necessary to provide fresh ones. As previously explained, רה and ו were differentiated into וה and ו. These fresh letters, probably through being invented all together at one time, were placed at the end of the first line, thus :—

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ
 ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

The characters $\circ \text{ } \varphi \text{ } \phi$ [O P Q] forming a morphological series were obviously brought in together. The sequence of sounds may have been suggested by the first three letters of the alphabet גבא; for קפע are more or less complementary. As *Cheth*, *Teth*, and *Yod* were added to the first line, *Ain*, *Pe* and *Koph* were inserted in the second; but, for some reason which is not clear, they were placed immediately *before* the three letters תשר, thus:—

ת ש ר ק פ ע ס נ מ ל ב

Finally צ was differentiated from ש. In the form of the alphabet communicated to the Greeks, *Sade* has the form of a reversed *Shin* \wedge ; but in the Semitic writing it is \vee , another derivative of *Shin*. The new letter, curiously enough, was not placed next to its original, but was inserted midway between the two other sibilants, ס and ש, forming the sequence ש ר ק צ פ ע ס. The alphabetic series had now attained its final form as under:—

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

י ש ח ו ה ד ר ג ב א

ת ש ר ק צ פ ע ס נ מ ל ב

The history of these additions and dislocations has taken some time to describe; but it will be seen that they are extremely simple and natural, and would in fact be inevitable if the alphabet originally consisted of the four triads of related geometric signs that we have assumed to be the kernel of the alphabet, and of the alphabetical order.

NINA AND NINEVEH.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D.

During the last few years an exceedingly interesting series of archaic tablets has come to light, which have been offered for sale in considerable numbers, both in this country and on the continent, so that examples of them are now to be found in many public and private collections. Those in the Louvre have been published by M. Thureau-Dangin in his most noteworthy work, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, which not only contains purchased inscriptions of the same class, but a number of documents obtained by M. de Sarzec in the course of his excavations at Tel-loh and in the neighbourhood. An exceedingly important point in connection with those published by M. Thureau-Dangin is, that they refer to several rulers whose names are not found elsewhere, and who seem to have been the very first who directed the destinies of that at present well-known city of Lagaš (formerly called by Assyriologists Zirgulla, and by those in France Sirpulla) and the townships surrounding it.

As is usual with the people in the East who deal in Babylonian antiquities, the finding-place of the tablets of this series which they offered for sale was kept strictly secret, for fear that explorers might come upon and annex their treasure-house. The inscriptions on the tablets, however, told the reader that it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tel-loh, so that there was no doubt as to the position of the place where they originated, and to which, to all appearance, their inscriptions refer.

It is interesting to notice how, in the Louvre collection, the importance of the rulers of the place seems to increase with the growth of its influence. First we have roughly-written tablets, which, from the style of the script as reproduced by M. Thureau-Dangin, belong to an earlier period than the rest. After these come better-written inscriptions ending with the words 'rule of Enima-ni-zi,'

'rule of Sur-Ninḫada,' 'rule of Maš-Surupag,'¹ 'rule of Enim-Surupag-zida' in the first series, followed by Sur-Ē-Innana, a judge, and a *patesi* or 'viceroy,' En-li-tar-zi (at first called, apparently, priest of the god Nin-Girsu) and his predecessor, En-temena, in the second. Most important of all, however, are the tablets bearing the names of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina or Uru-enima-gina, the former a *patesi*, who is at least once called 'king,' and the second a real king of Lagaš. Though all the tablets of these two series do not seem to have come from the same site, it may be supposed that the rulers whose names are mentioned upon the tablets placed first in order by M. Thureau-Dangin preceded the others, so that we seem to have in these texts a picture of the growth of their power, from the first rulers without titles, followed by judges, priests, and then *patesis*—*iššaki*, 'those who are first' in Semitic Babylonian (=mayors or elders)—and, finally, kings, though the rulers of Lagaš had to abandon this last title in after-years.

It is to the tablets of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina that I would direct your attention in this paper. The inscriptions which they bear differ considerably in nature, and consist of lists of officials and slaves, of cattle, of grain and produce of various kinds, including dates and wine, sometimes for the consorts of those two rulers—Bara-nam-tarra, wife of Lugal-anda, and Šagšaga, wife of Uru-ka-gina—and sometimes for the deities whom they worshipped. In the case of these last, as well as in the numerous personal names which occur in these inscriptions, we obtain the names of many of the gods whom the people held in honour, and we may ultimately get thereby an indication how far the religion of the district differed from that of the other states of Babylonia. We find ourselves, moreover, in as it were another atmosphere from that which we seem to feel in the inscriptions of later days, for the names, as will have been gathered from those of the rulers already referred to, are primitive and strange, and uncompromisingly non-Semitic.

Nevertheless, some old and familiar friends now and then appear to us. An Ē-zida, as we learn, even then existed—it is shown by the personal name *Sur-Ē-zida*—but was it the well-known

¹ *Surupag* is written with a monogram (in the technical sense of the word) formed of the characters *Su-kur-ra*, which is probably an alternative reading. *Surupag* is the *Surippak* of the Flood-story, in which it is spoken of as the native city of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah. In the names here quoted, it is the god of the city who is meant.






fane of Borsippa, or another so called? *Sur-Giš-bil-gan-miṣ* testifies to the honour in which the hero Gilgameš was held; *Ib-Id-Edinna*² hints at the worship paid to a certain divine 'river of Eden'—according to Delitzsch the plain of Babylonia. *Amar-Ezina*, which, in Semitic Babylonian, would be *Bur-Ašnan*, 'the young bull of the god Ašnan,' probably testifies to the gratitude shown, by the givers of the name, to the god of corn and the bestower of their daily bread. *Nina-ama-Lugal-anda*, 'the goddess Nina is the mother of Lugal-anda,' is the name of the loyal baker of that ruler, and gives one of the names (Nina) which form the subject of this paper; whilst *Sur-Dumuzi*, 'the faithful servant of Tammuz,' is the appropriate name of the same king's ox-herd, Tammuz being the patron of herdsmen in general. This last is a noteworthy proof of the antiquity of the worship of Tammuz, which certainly goes back to at least 4,000 years before Christ.

But it is not my intention to go deeply into the matter of these names and the facts, mythological or otherwise, which may be gathered therefrom—they are merely referred to to show that interesting details can be gleaned from comparatively uninteresting material. The subject of my paper is a comparatively small section of these inscriptions, all referring to offerings of fish. Of these M. Thureau-Dangin publishes eight, the Brussels Museum possesses two (one of them a label which was once attached to a rush basket containing fish), Lord Amherst of Hackney has a unique specimen, and Mr. Harding Smith has one to which special reference will be made.

From the various tablets of the series which refer to fish, it seems to be clear that they enumerate the offerings of that nature made (apparently on behalf of the wives of the two viceroys I have mentioned, Lugal-anda and Uruka-gina) to the deities of the district—the god Nin-Girsu, and the goddesses Bau, Nina, and Ištar.

Now it is a matter of common knowledge to Assyriologists that the name of the goddess Nina is the same as that of the Babylonian city of Nina, and also, apparently, the original of the Assyrian Ninā or Ninua, commonly known as Nineveh. The groups expressing these three forms are all written with the same character,

² This seems to have been the name of a place of some sanctity, where offerings were made.

namely, , the sign for a receptacle with the wedge-formed picture of a fish within. Numerous variants, as well as the bilingual lists, furnish us with the pronunciation in the case of the group standing for the Assyrian Nineveh; but it is only by analogy that we come to the conclusion that the name of the Babylonian goddess Nina () and the Babylonian city Nina ( ) were pronounced in practically the same way—a presumption which is strengthened by M. Thureau-Dangin's No. 48, which gives the name of the city with the phonetic complement , *na*. In that case, however, the form, according to the writing, seems to have differed somewhat from that of the Assyrian Ninā, the long end-vowel *ā* not being expressed, and therefore, probably, not pronounced.

The following paragraphs give, provisionally, the contents of the colophons of these tablets:—

1. 'The catch for Nina's festival of increase-eating, month Izin-eš-êa, which Ne-saga the fisherman brought; En-gal-gala, the superintendent of the women's house offered(?) it. Bara-namtarra, wife of Lugal-anda, viceroy of Lagaš.' (Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, No. 30.)

2. Fish brought apparently as an offering to Nin-Girsu by two fishermen. 'En-gal-gala, the superintendent, has offered the catch to the store-house.' (No. 31.)

3. 'The reservoir-fisherman has brought the catch as the fish-offering of the month Gud-du-ne-mua, offering it to the store-house. Bara-namtarra, wife of Lugal-anda, viceroy of Lagaš. (No. 32.)

4. This inscription is divided into two parts,—the catch for the festival of increase-eating, and the catch for the festival of grain-eating. The names of the superintendent and the wife of the viceroy do not appear, the text ending with the words: 'Lugal-anda not invested patesi of Lagaš.' (No. 33.)

5. This records a catch by Amar-ku-nuna, the fresh(?)-water-fisherman, in the month of the festival of increase-eating, apparently offered to the god Nin-Girsu. The name of En-gal-gala appears. (No. 34.)

6. 'The catch for Nina's grain-eating festival and increase-eating festival, which the reservoir-fishermen have brought, and En-gal-gala, the superintendent of E-urra, the women's house, has offered. Bara-namtarra, wife of Lugal-anda, viceroy of Lagaš.' (No. 35.)

7. 'The fish-offerings which the reservoir-fishermen have brought for the month Ga-lu-ura, and En-gal-gala, the superintendent of the women's house, has offered.' (No. 36.)

8. The fish which 'Udu the freshwater-fisherman has brought for the month Sig-ba-a, and En-gal-gala, the superintendent of E-urra, has offered.' (No. 37.)

The large Brussels tablet, like Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 6, also refers to the catch of the month of the festival of increase-eating. It seems to be described as having been brought, in accordance with the command of the god Nin-Girsu, by En-gal-gala, the superintendent, to the storehouse. A reference to the goddess Bau suggests, however, that the offering was not made to Nin-Girsu, but to her. The inscription ends, like many of the others, with the name of the wife of the viceroy, in this case Šagšaga, consort of Uru-ka-gina.

Of special interest, however, is the text inscribed on the tablet of this series belonging to Mr. Harding Smith (see Plate). The colophon reads as follows:—

'Fish-offering to Innana (Ištar), En-galgala, the superintendent, has taken to *uru azaga* (the holy city). Uru-ka-gina, viceroy of Lagaš.'

It will thus be seen that the offerings of fish recorded by these tablets were made to the goddess Nina in the first place, and also to Ištar and Bau, and probably the god Nin-Girsu. Naturally as all the gods could be identified with each other, the same thing might be said for the goddesses, and if this be the case, the identification of Nina with Ištar, the goddess of Nineveh, might be held to be certain. In this connection it is noteworthy that many Assyriologists, including Prof. Sayce and Prof. Jastrow, long before these tablets came to the notice of Assyriologists, had already come to this conclusion. Jastrow describes the name of the goddess and of the city as meaning, in the Babylonian system of writing, 'House of the fish,' 'house' being used in the sense of 'possessing' or 'harbouring'—'fishtown.' That the Babylonian city of Nina, situated so near the sea, should have been given such a name, is natural, and the same thing might be said of the Assyrian Nineveh, the Tigris at Mossul (as Mr. Rassam tells me) abounding in fish. Prof. Jastrow points out that the Assyrian capital is frequently spoken of as the 'beloved city' of Ištar, and unless it be supposed that this epithet simply reflects the comparatively late date of the popularity of the distinctively Assyrian Ištar, the most natural explanation would be to propose the equation of Nina with Ištar. He is of opinion, however,

that if Nina has any connection with the goddess of Nineveh, it is certain that Ištar retained none of Nina's traits. In other words, the fusion of Nina at Nineveh with Ištar has been so complete that naught but the faintest tradition of an original and independent Nina has survived.

The case, however, would seem to be really stronger than Prof. Jastrow makes out—and he is certainly inclined to identify the two goddesses. This is due to the fact that the ideograph often used to express the name of the goddess Ištar, 𒌷 , had not only the pronunciation of *Innana*, *Innina*, and *Ennin*, when it stood for that goddess, but also of *Nin*—the name Nina without the lengthening *a*. The identity may therefore be original and not the result of development.

In all probability the parentage of these deities does not affect the question to any great extent. Nina is described as having been a daughter of Aa or Ea, the god of the sea—the natural parentage of the fish-goddess of Babylonia; and Jastrow points out that, in Gudea's inscriptions, she is described as daughter of Nin-sia, a god who is elsewhere explained as 'the sh[eph]erd of the flocks.' Ištar, on the other hand, is variously described as having been the daughter of Anu, the god of the heavens—probably as the brightest planet in the sky—and of Sin, the moon—possibly as the little planet which was in his likeness, suggesting (though it seems exceedingly unlikely) that the Babylonians were acquainted with the phases of Venus. This side of the question, therefore, throws us back, for an explanation of the possible identity of Nina with Ištar, on the likeness between Nin or Nina, one of the names of Ištar, and the name of the fish goddess Nina, and on the fact that Ištar became, in later times, one of the words for 'goddess' in general. As has been already remarked, the identification of all the gods with Merodach, which was current in Babylonia, probably had its counterpart in the case of their spouses, and in this way, if in no other, the identification of the two goddesses may have come about.

We have therefore a choice of three explanations: Nina and Ištar may originally have been one and the same, but differentiated afterwards, in which case the Assyrian Nineveh was probably founded by a colony from Nina in Babylonia.

Nina may have received the name of Ištar because the latter became the word for 'goddess' in general, and was afterwards assimilated to some more distinctively Assyrian Ištar—she of

Arbela, for example. In this case Nineveh may also have been founded by a Babylonian colony from Nina.

Nineveh may really have been a primitive Assyrian foundation, the patron-goddess of which was Ištar, and a band of colonists from Nina in Babylonia may afterwards have joined them. In this case the two goddesses would have different origins, but the Assyrian city would owe its name to the great foundation where the fish-goddess was worshipped in South Babylonia.

Whichever we accept, the Assyrian Nineveh would seem to have been more or less of Babylonian origin.³

Another point of interest in these tablets recording offerings of fish will probably occur to my readers, namely, the confirmation of the statement in Herodotus that there were tribes in Babylonia who lived on nothing but fish only. It is difficult to believe that fish formed their nourishment to the exclusion of every other form of food whatever, but these tablets seem to prove that there were people, votaries and priests of Nina, the fish-goddess, who found themselves in the necessity of subsisting largely on that diet, and there is no doubt that fish formed the food, to a great extent, of the tribes of this district in general. The tablets to which I have referred speak of the fish both without any descriptive addition (implying that its natural state is intended), and also with additions indicating that it was salted, and also, apparently, dried and baked. Herodotus, it will be remembered, also gives details as to the methods employed by the Babylonian fish-eaters in preparing this, their staple food. He states that, when they have caught the fish and dried them in the sun, they throw them into brine, and then pound them with pestles and strain them through muslin. They were eaten either kneaded into a soft cake, or baked like bread. The earlier method of preparing the fish for food, it is to be noted, may have differed from that employed in the time of Herodotus.

³ It is said that the mother of Semiramis, who was named Derceto, visited by the anger of Venus, yielded to a lover whom she saw in the temple of that goddess. Ashamed of her crime and of the consequences, she exposed her infant in a rocky desert, and after murdering her seducer, drowned herself in a lake at Ascalon, in Syria. On the banks of a lake full of fish a temple was afterwards erected in her honour, and an image, half woman, half fish, represented her unfortunate mother, who had been turned, it was affirmed, into a fish. The deserted child is said to have been nourished by pigeons with milk from neighbouring cottages, and afterwards with cheese. She was then discovered by shepherds, whose chief, named Simma, adopted her as his daughter and gave her the name of Semiramis, from a word in Syriac meaning dove, henceforth adored by the Syrians.

There is no record of anything of this kind at Nineveh, so that it may be supposed that the priestly fish-eaters never had any footing there. Nevertheless—it is impossible to speak with certainty in the absence of records—there may have been a temple to the fish-goddess Nina in that city, with a staff of priests who made offerings to the goddess after the manner of the ancient foundation in southern Babylonia, and records may ultimately be found; but at present all that we can admit is a strong probability that this was the case. There is no indication in the inscriptions that Istar of Nineveh was in any way a fish-goddess, and it is therefore unlikely that more than the usual offerings of fish, such as would be made to any deity, were offered to Istar in her great temple in the later capital of Assyria.

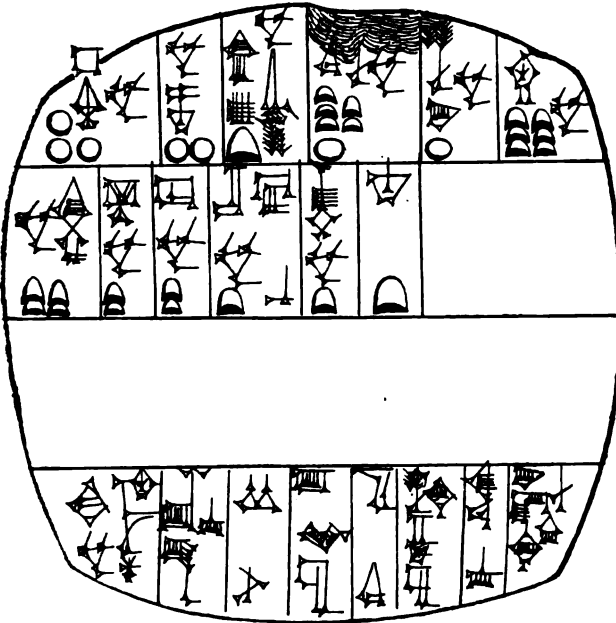
MR. HARDING SMITH'S TABLET.

(See Plate.)

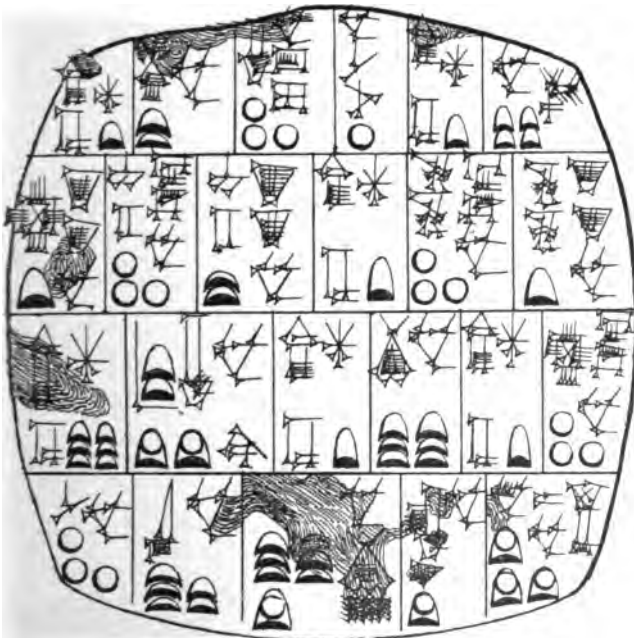
Mr. Harding Smith having been kind enough to consent to the publication of his tablet, I give here a reproduction of the text inscribed thereon, together with an indication of its contents. The tablet measures three inches and three-tenths each way, and is well baked and very clearly written. All the columns of the obverse are slightly damaged, as well as the first (the right-hand) column of the reverse, but the inscription is well preserved on the whole.

OBVERSE.

COL. I.		COL. II.	
Ušū kud kua	30 kud fish	ga - bi aš - an	their reservoirs 6.
ia šuš kin kua	5 soss (300) kin fish	mina ner lal mina šuš ka-	2 ner less 2 soss (1080)
ner ia šuš . . . kua	1 ner 5 soss (900) . . . fish	šur kua	kašur fish,
ner ki-ka + šar kua	1 ner (600) ki(?) - ka + šar fish	ga - bi aš - an	their reservoir 1.
š ner peš kua a- de	3 ner (1800) peš fish water pouring forth.	aš šus suhur kua	6 soss (360) suhur fish,
		ga - bi aš - am	their reservoir 1.
		ušu bara kua dar-ra	30 bara fish, cooked (?)



REVERSE.



OBVERSE.

TABLET FROM TEL-LOH.
Belonging to W. Harding Smith, Esq.

COL. III.

šuš bara kua su-su	60 <i>bara</i> fish, dried (?) ;
ušu giš-pi kua dar-ra	30 <i>gišpi</i> fish, cooked (?) ;
mina šuš giš-pi kua su-su	2 <i>šoss</i> (120) <i>gišpi</i> fish, dried (?) ;
ga - bi aš - an	their reservoir I.
ušu kubar-kubar kua dar-ra	30 <i>kubar-kubar</i> fish, cooked (?) ;
šuš kubar-kubar kua su-su	60 <i>kubar-kubar</i> fish dried (?) ;

COL. IV.

ga - bi aš - an	their reservoir I.
mina šuš ga-šar (?) kua	2 <i>šoss</i> (120) <i>gašar</i> (?) fish ;
ušu ka- lu-up kua	30 <i>kalup</i> fish ;
u nu-tar kua	10 <i>nutar</i> fish ;
ga - bi aš - an	their reservoir I.
lima kua nam	4 fish of fate ;

REVERSE.

COL. V (right-hand).

ušu gir-gil kua	30 <i>girgil</i> fish ;
niš ba-za kua	20 <i>bara</i> fish ;
šuš šam-ga- nidaba kua	60 <i>šam-ga- nidaba</i> fish ;
šuš-ya ni- gi (or -zi) kua	65 <i>nigi</i> (or <i>nizi</i>) fish ;
šus ki-zi kua	60 <i>kizi</i> fish ;
âš šuš . . . kua	360 . . . fish ;

COL. VI.

lima kua taga	4 fish divers (?) ;
mina kua šu	2 fish <i>šu</i> ;
mina kua ablal (?)	2 fish nesters (?) ;
aš kua ur- bar - ra	1 jackal (?) - fish ;
as kua muš	1 serpent-fish ;
šuš ba	60 presented (?) .

(Blank space.)

COLUMN VII is blank.

COL. VIII (left-hand).

Kua suku D. P. Innanna- kam	Fish-offerings to Ištar
En - gal- gala	En-gal-gala
nu - tur	the superintendent

COL. VIII—continued.

uru azaga-ku	to Uru-azaga
ni - gina.	has brought.
Uru - ka - gi- na	Uru-ka- gina
lugala	king
Lagaš D.S.	(of) Lagaš


It is impossible at present to identify all these different kinds of fish, but no doubt this will be done, at least in part, when more is known of the inhabitants of the waters of the Persian Gulf. At present the following notes may serve to give an idea of their nature :—


OVERSE.



Col. I, division 1. The *kud* fish (or *tar* fish) is written with the usual character for “to cut,” “divide,” and may have been so named from its “cutting through” the water, or on account of its likeness to an instrument for cutting.




Division 2. The root-meaning of *kin* is “to send,” “seek out,” “attack,” and may indicate a fish of a pugnacious character.


Division 3. The value of the character used for the name of the fish here is not known, but it may be a fuller form of the sign in col. II, division 4, *suhur*.




Division 4. The characters here are doubtful, but look like *ki* followed by *ka* with *šar*, written small, above and forming part of it. At a later date the character *šar* was probably placed within the *ka*, but may have been also written after it, in which case we should have , *ki-ka-sar kua*.




Division 5. The character *peš*, late Babylonian , means “to be multitudinous,” and may refer to a species met with in large numbers. It is the sign for “fish” with the “*gunu-*” wedges, and apparently has its meaning from the prolific character of fish in general.

Col. II, divisions 1, 3, and 5. The termination , *an*, is probably the same as that written , *a-an*, and is generally found after numerals.

Division 4. The principal character here is equivalent to the late Babylonian , found in the name of the constellation of the goat-fish ( ). That in col. I, div. 3, may be an augmented form of it. Hommel has already explained the hieroglyphic form of this character as the picture of a fish.

Division 6, and col. III, division 1. *Bara kua* possibly means “fish of the sanctuary” (). I conjecture that *darra* and *su-su* in these divisions and in divisions 2, 3, 5, and 6 of col. III, mean “cooked” and “dried” respectively, but these renderings are given with all reserve.

Col. IV, division 2. The name of the fish seems to be    (late Babylonian), *ga-šar-kua*. *Ga* means "milk," and *šar* "to produce," "acquire," etc.

Division 4.   , *nu-tar kua* or *nu-kud kua*. Perhaps "the non-cutting" fish? See the note to division 1 of col. I.


Division 6. Besides "fate," *nam* also has the meaning of "swallow," those birds being used in augury. Perhaps the *kua nam* was a fish whose motions were noted for the same purpose.

REVERSE.





Col. V, division 1. As *gir* means "sword" or "dagger," the *gir-gil* fish may have been a creature provided with a means of defence capable of being so described. Perhaps a swordfish.




Division 3. The *šam-ga-nidaba* fish is named after a plant otherwise unknown.



Divisions 4 and 5. As the latter mentions the *ki-zi* fish, *ni-zi* is better than *nigi* in division 4.


Division 6.  is probably the picture of the fish intended.

Col. VI, division 1. The character *taga* has the meanings "to strike," "turn," "overturn," hence the rendering adopted here. Possibly this fish was observed for making forecasts, as the character implies.

Division 3.  ( with  inside) is possibly an abbreviation of , a character meaning "bird's nest" (*qinnu ša iššuri*).

Division 4. *Ur-barra* (  ) stands for the Semitic *aḥû* and *barbarru*, regarded as the jackal.

Col. VIII, division 4.   has been transcribed in the text *Uru-azaga*, i.e., as the name of a city. It may, however, be merely an appellative, meaning "the glorious (or holy) city" = *Lagaš*.

Division 8. The character  is merely an indication that the inscription ends here.

In this, as in other inscriptions of the same class, "1" and "60" are distinguished by the size of the signs by which they are expressed, the latter being by far the larger of the two.⁴

⁴ Further remarks upon these inscriptions, and the fish-names contained therein, will appear in the description of Lord Amherst of Hackney's specimen, now in the press.

ERRATA.

"Mummy labels in the British Museum."

- Page 13, ll. 12 and 13 *for* εὐψυχι *read* εὐψυχι.
 „ 13, l. 31 *for* δημοσιωι *read* δημοσιων.
 „ 17, ll. 31 and 33 *for* Δ *read* Δ.
 „ 19, l. 24 *for* φωτινὸς *read* φωτινος.
 „ 19, foot note *for* τοῦ δεῖνα *read* του δεινα.
 „ 20, l. 8 *for* ò *read* o.
-

- Page 14, *for* Nos. 78, 79, 81, 83, 87, 88,
read 58, 59, 61, 63, 67, 68.
 „ 20, *for* 85, 88.
read 65, 68.
-

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, March 8th, 1905, when the following Paper will be read:—

F. Legge, Esq. : "Egyptian Magic Ivories"

This Paper will be illustrated by Lantern-slides.

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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, March 8th, 1905.

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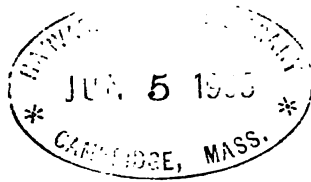
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PROCEEDINGS
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THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1905.

Third Meeting, March 8th, 1905.

T. CHRISTY, Esq., *F.L.S.*,

IN THE CHAIR.



The following gift to the Library was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :—

From the Author, C. F. Oldham.—“The Sun and the Serpent.”

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society :—

F. C. Danson, Esq., 74, Bidstone Road, Birkenhead.

The following Paper was read :—

F. LEGGE, ESQ. : “Some Egyptian Magic Ivories.”

This Paper was illustrated by Lantern-slides.

The subject was discussed by Mr. Hall ; Miss Murray ; Rev. Dr. Löwy ; Mr. Rouse ; the Secretary ; and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

ERRATA.

“Mummy-Labels in the British Museum.”

Page 51, l. 3 for *πδζων* read *πδζωα*.

„ 51, l. 4 „ “was common for” read “was common. For.”

„ 55 *delete* footnote 14 and corresponding reference N° on line 19.

GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

(Continued from page 56.)

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-LABELS.

16. Oblong, perforated at end. $4\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2''$.

OBV. (incised over writing).

REV. (written).

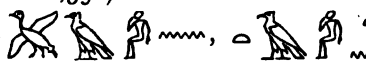
+ΕΝΑΡΤΕΛΛΕ

+ΕΝΑΡΤΕΛΛΙΚ

ΟΙ

+ΕΝΑΡΤΕΛΛΙΤΟC

"Psenartemeis. Psenartemis, son of Psenartemis."

Cf. KREBS, 8 (Berlin 11,351). The combination of the Eg. $\Psi\epsilon\nu$ —, $\tau\sigma\epsilon\nu$ — ($\Sigma\epsilon\nu$ —) (= , *Pa-še(r)-e-n . . . , Ta-še(r)e(t)-n* "the son of . . .," "the daughter of . . .") with the names of Greek deities, &c., was usual enough.

[No. 20798.]

17. As 16. $6'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. (Modern imitation of a genuine original.)? Incised.

OBV.

REV.

$\tau\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\rho(\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma) / \epsilon\tau\omega\nu \iota\theta$, "Tsenartemis (?), 18 years (old)."

[No. 26449.]

18. Two handles, both perforated. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. Incised over writing.

Θεανους

ετων νδ

Λκβ Κομοτοῦ

Παννι κη

L. 3. Originally *written* ΚΟΜΟΜΟΔΟΥ. LE BLANT's reading Κομότου (*l.c.*, 90) is perhaps right, but the incised letters are very rough.

"Of Theanō, 54 years old; 22nd year of Commodus, 28th Payni;" *i.e.*, June 2, A.D. 182. LE BLANT (90) considered that

this was a mistake, Commodus not having reigned 22 years, but KREBS (*l.c.*, p. 36) points out that Commodus reckoned in the years of Marcus Aurelius's reign as his own, so that his "22nd year" will be 182-183 A.D. [No. 9890.]

19. As 18. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ Roughly incised.

Ἡρας υἱος Ἡρα
 Ἡρακλειδου αἰγο
 ρανομου ετων
 τριακ[ο]ντα ευ
 ψυχι

"Heras, son of Hērakleides, village Registrar. Thirty years old. Farewell!"

The superfluous Ἡρα in l. 1 is presumably a mistake of the carver. [No. 9891.]

20. As 18. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ Painted red; letters raised and gilt.

Ζωσιμη
 ευψυχι

"Zōsimē, farewell!"

[No. 20816.]

21. Oblong, two perforations. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ Uncial: written

Αρειον.

Cf. KREBS, 3.

[No. 24470.]

22. Oblong, one handle, perforated. $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2''$

Ταβανα
 βριος Π

"Of Tabanabris." IIIrd century.

[Cf. *Θαβαννε*, *Φαβανιν*: SPIEGELBERG, pp. 11*, 56*.]

[No. 23218.]

23. As 23. $4'' \times 2''$.

Θησε


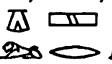

"Thēse," (*i.e.*, Taisit )

[*Θαησι*, *Θαησις*, SPIEGELBERG, p. 11.*]

[No. 24521.]

No. 29. Oblong, one perforation. 4" × 2".

Πκυρις

[Cf. Πκοιλίς, Πκυλίς, ξ/ζ/ρ ()], SPIEGELBERG, s.n., who, however, gives no meaning. On the analogy of  (Καλάσιρις), "Young Syrian," I would myself suggest the meaning, "The Syrian" (old form )], corresponding to Ηεκυσίς, "The Ethiopian." [No. 24493.]

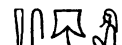
30. One perforation. 2½" × 2".

Βησις

Ψενσεναρίς

. . .]ίος

"Besis (son of ?) Psensenar(tem)is, (son) of . . . is."

Apparently Ψενσεναρ[τεμ]ίς for Ψενσεναρτεμιδος. Cf. No. 16. The third name is uncertain. Such names as Βήσις, Βησοῦς, κ.τ.λ., formed from the name of the god  Bes, were common.

[No. 24476.]

31. As 30. 4" × 1¼". Red ink.

Βησις . . .

.

The end of the first and the whole of the second lines illegible.

[No. 24544.]


32. One handle, perforated. 6½" × 2½". Uncial.

ΟΒΥ.


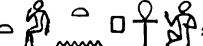
Σενπογκίς

Πογκήτος

Σχουλίος

On Rev. a roughly incised design .


"Senponkhis, daughter of Ponkhēs, son of Skhoulis."








Ponkhēs = , P-ānkh(i), "the living one," Senponkhis = , T-s(r)et-n- P-ānkh(i), "the daughter of Pānkhī."

[No. 20812.]

33. One perforation. 5" x 2". Semi-cursive.


Θυγ΄ Ψαιτος Σενποχγη(sic) ο πατηρ
Πετρως Βεχινιος.






The meaning of this uncommon formula is not very clear; we must apparently, however, translate "Senponkhē, daughter of Psais, whose father was Peteuris, son of Bekhins," cf. KREBS, 9. For the name *Ψais*, cf. KREBS, 15, 20, 68, &c., REVILLOUT, 5 bis, 7, &c., it was common. The demotic form was 

(   [] :    :¹⁸ Berlin, 10555, 10562, 10563),














or (), Louvre, 9513),

Pa-Šai, the name of the deity Shai, originally the god of Fate or Destiny, translated Ἀγαθοδαίμων in an inscription of Antoninus Pius (v. STEINDORFF, *l.c.*, p. 51; BERGMANN, *Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit*, l. 73, 46 (Note 69; B.D. ch. cxxv). The word occurs often in the sense of "fate," (*B.W.S.*, p. 1219), e.g. at Tell el-Amarna in the tomb of Merira the high priest: in the "Israel-Stele" of Merḥptah, lines 8 and 9, it occurs with an animal walking for determinative. In an inscription

at Dandûr, a deceased named Petisis is styled  *Pš[a] Nthurt* (*B.D.G.*, p. 399). Brugsch,








apparently thinking that   was a toneless form of   () translated this as “le jeune de Dandour,” the more pro-

bable connection with $\int_{\infty}^{\infty} \langle 3, (\text{candle} [\text{bird}] - \text{f} \text{ we } \text{f})$,

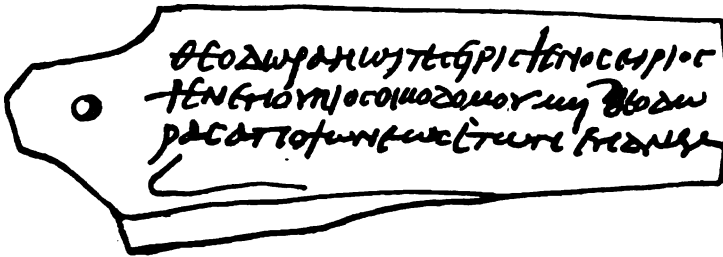
which he had explained (*B.W.*, p. 1426) as a "Name oder allgemeine Bezeichnung einer heiligen Schlangenart," having at that time escaped his notice. REVILLOUT attributes to  []           

(*l.c.*, note to 7) and to (Rev. Eg. VI, 2, pl. 24, in

criticizing the mistranslation in *B.D.G.*, p. 399, which had, by the way, been implicitly corrected by Brugsch himself twelve years before

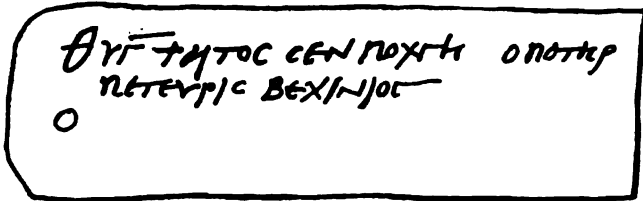
¹⁸ STEINDORFF gives the demotic  the value ; DRUGSCH, REVILLIOUT and HESS the value  simply: the full spelling of the word would seem to be    .

64.



II CENTURY A.D.

33.



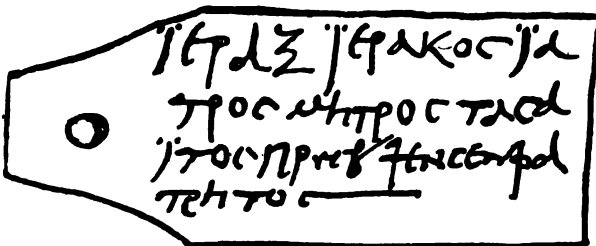
II CENTURY A.D.

22.



II-III CENTURY A.D.

65.




II-III CENTURY A.D.

MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

$\frac{3}{4}$ size of the originals.

The Nos. are those mentioned in the text.

determinative is usually omitted. [See also SPIEGELBERG, who regards *Shai* as a male counterpart of Rannut or Ernutet (Thermouthis) the corn-goddess. It seems to me that this is a secondary function, assigned to him as "The Good Spirit."] The common name Πετευρις is the Eg. *Petehor*, (); it occurs often on Greek ostraka (tax-receipts) of the Ist-IIInd centuries.

The writing on this label is good, and dates it to the first half of the second century A.D. [No. 20810.]

34. As 33. $3\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2''$.

Παγενῆς νεω—
Ψαιτος νεω—
εβίωσεν ετών
μη

i.e. Παγενῆς νεωτερος Ψαιτος νεωτερου εβίωσεν ετών μή.

"Pagenēs, the younger son of Psais the younger, lived 68 years."

[No. 23206.]

Παγενῆς is the hellenized form of an Egyptian name which occurs in later times as the name of a Coptic militant saint: ΠΑΚΕΝΕ, "He of Kena,"¹⁹ the well known city of Upper Egypt.

35. As 33. $4'' \times 2''$.

Ψαις Σαραπιωνος
Λκδ

"Psais son of Sarapiōn, 24 years old."

The writing is of late second century type.

[No. 24437.]

36. As 33. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.

Σαραπιων
Ἰσαιου.

"Sarapiōn son of Isaios."

IIIrd century.

[No. 24482.]

¹⁹ Cf. ΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ, "The Man of God."

37. As 33. 4" × 1½". Semi-cursive.

OBV.

Πετε[. . .

Σαραπιων

REV.

ΤΕΚΤΩΝ

ΕΤΩΝ[.]Ε

"Pete . . . (son of) Sarapiōn, carpenter [.] 4 years old.

IInd Century.

[No. 24561.]

38. As 33. 4½" × 1¾".

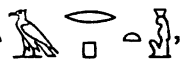
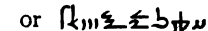
Πετετριφίς Ψενσεν


αργηριος λεγομενος



ΕΤΟΥΣ Κ





















































"Petetriphis called Psensenargērios; (in his) twentieth year."

Πετετριφίς = , *Pe-te-Ta-Rpīt*, "He

who is given by Her who belongs to Tripe," , a goddess worshipped at Triphion²⁰ (Atribis of the South), the Coptic ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲡⲉ, near Panopolis (Akhmim). The name of the goddess, perhaps originally Ta-Rpāt ("The Princess")²¹, is spelt **ΤΡΙΠΕ** on the Old-Coptic mummy-label at Berlin (10541, STEINDORFF *l.c.*, p. 52). The ordinary Greek form *Τρίφης* is given in *L. D.*, vi, 75, No. 24, while PARTHEY, p. 120 has *Θρίπης*. Of names formed with that of the goddess we know from the bilingual labels of the Louvre a *Ψεντατριφίς* or .

²⁰ AMÉLINEAU, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 70, curiously gives the Greek form as "*Τρίφιον*, Triphiou." This is not a misprint. The label Berlin 10541 on which the word is found reads *Ξενφάιτος* | *Ἀπολλωνίου μηδρός* (sic) | *Ἐσουήρις* | *ἀπὸ Τριφίου*. But *Τριφίου* is not a transliteration of the original Egyptian word, which had no *ou* in its composition: it is the genitive case (after *ἀπὸ*) of the Greek word *Τρίφιον*, which, as STEINDORFF pointed out (*l.c.*, p. 52) is the correct Greek translation of the Egyptian , "Tripe's Place," from which the Coptic **ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲡⲉ** is derived.

²¹ . [But SPIEGELBERG prefers , the name of a goddess of vegetation. This seems very possible.]

(, *Pa-š(r)e-(n)l(a)-Ta-Rpi*; No. 9607), and a *Tatetripis* or , *T(e)-te-T-Rpi*, No. 10111), and from those of the B.M. another *I Hetetripis* (No. 20797), yet another, son of *Hetripis* or , *Pa-Ta-Rpi*, "He who belongs to Tripe; No. 24465) and a *Tatripe* or , *T(a)-Ta-Rpit*; No. 26443). KREBS gives *Σατρίπις* (32, Berlin 11826), *Tatetripis* (27, Berlin 10561) *cf.* No. 39 below, and an apparently masculine *Tatetripis* (1, Berlin 10628). *Ψευσεναργηριος* apparently means "Son of the son of Argyrios"; the *ρ* is certain, so that it cannot be read *Ψευσεναργηριος* and be connected with the *Σεναργηρις* of the Berlin bilingual label No. 105-571 (KREBS, 71), the demotic form of which is , *i.e.* , *Ta-šret-n-ḥr-iu-t.* (HESS, *Beiträge zum demotischen Lexikon*, A.Z. 1890, p. 1.) [No. 24439.]

39. As 33. 4" x 1". Red ink.

Τα τετρίφισ

"Tatetripis": feminine form of Petetripis, q.v. above No. 38.
[No. 24473.]

(To be continued.)



CHRONOLOGY OF AŠURBÂNIPAL'S REIGN.

B.C. 668-626.

III.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

Before we can properly estimate the connection between the 'forecast' tablets dated in the Eponymies of Ašur-dûr-ušur, Sagabbu, and Bêl-Harrân-šadûa, and the events of the war between Ašurbânipal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn, we must have a clear idea of what those events were, and of their chronological order. Ašurbânipal's own accounts of the events are recorded on his Cylinders, the fullest being on the great Rassam Cylinder, published *V.R.* pp. 1-10. They will be found set out in most of the Histories of Assyria, those of Tiele and Rogers being specially good. But all the Cylinders group events in a way that makes it difficult to date each separately. On the other hand, we have for our special period some valuable hints from the contracts dated in Babylon during its siege. These are dated after the Babylonian fashion by the regnal years of Šamaš-šum-ukîn. Hence we must first determine which year B.C. corresponds to his regnal year 19, or 20, as the case may be. Hence, after a short sketch of the general course of events, I shall devote the rest of this article to fixing Šamaš-šum-ukîn's own dates.

How long Šamaš-šum-ukîn was maturing his plans of rebellion does not appear, but he seems to have drawn into the conspiracy Akkad, the Chaldeans and Aramaeans, the Sealand, Elam and Gutium, Syria and Palestine, as well as Meluḥḥa or Northern Arabia. He opened the war by seizing Ur and Erech, which were under Assyrian governors, and forbade Ašurbânipal any longer to offer as "King of the four quarters of the world," to Šamaš and Nêrgal, in Sippara and Kutha. Ašurbânipal moved slowly, evidently waiting to see how and where this lead would be followed before he struck. It was clearly to be a general rebellion, and he must first see who would send an army to attack him. He moved an army into Babylonia, reducing Akkad on the way. Meantime Ummanigaš, King of Elam, had sent an army to the assistance of Šamaš-šum-ukîn. But, whether by Ašurbânipal's intrigues, or by a stroke of good fortune, Tammaritu, brother of Ummanigaš, and titular king of Hidalu, rebelled against

him and took the throne. Šamaš-šum-ukin made a counter move and bribed Tammarišu also to send an army to his support. Shortly afterwards Indabigaš, a servant of Tammarišu, rebelled against him, and he had to flee to Ašurbânipal for security. This he did by way of the south of Elam, coming into Babylonia through the Sealands, where Marduk-šar-ušur the *šūpar-šakē* was in command under Bêl-ibni. At the beginning of the revolt, Nabû-bêl-šumâte, a son of Merodach Baladan, had been vassal king of the Sealand under Ašurbânipal, who, regarding him as faithful, had sent a body of Assyrian troops to strengthen him against Elam which might seek to invade the south in the interests of Šamaš-šum-ukin. But Nabû-bêl-šumâte was a traitor, and when Ašurbânipal was able to despatch an army against him, he by treachery took captive the Assyrians sent to protect him, and, retreating to Elam, carried them with him, doubtless as hostages for his own life. This was evidently just before Tammarišu fled from Elam. But then, as Ašurbânipal was master of the south of Babylonia, Bêlibni in command in the Sealand, and Assyrian supremacy everywhere save in Babylon, which was closely blockaded, Indabigaš, even if not a friend of Assyria, was not inclined to take up a losing cause. Yet when Ašurbânipal demanded the surrender of Nabû-bêl-šumâte and the release of the Assyrian captives whom he had carried with him, Indabigaš, though promising to grant the demand, could not or would not do so. When Ašurbânipal was free he invaded Elam, but before his envoys could convey his ultimatum to Indabigaš, the latter had been slain in a rebellion by Ummanaldasu, who took the throne. The new king could not or would not grant the demand for Nabû-bêl-šumâte, and the Assyrian invasion went on to the final conquest of Elam.

It is after all more important to note these external events, because they do not connect themselves with dated documents, than to dwell on the progress of events in Babylonia itself. All the more so that Ašurbânipal says little of how he defeated Šamaš-šum-ukin and his allies. He does say that in his sixth campaign he called out his army and marched against Šamaš-šum-ukin, shut him and his fighting men within Sippara, Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha, "captured their exits," *i.e.*, blockaded them, and "in town and country overthrew them to any extent. The rest, pestilence, hunger and want cut off their lives." After a digression about Ummanigaš, Tammarišu and Indabigaš, including the arrival of Tammarišu at Nineveh, Ašurbânipal returns to the siege of Babylon, which had evidently

been going on. "As for the people of Akkad, who had sided with Šamas-šum-ukin, famine seized upon them, they eat the flesh of their own children." Ašurbânipal's gods, who marched before him and destroyed his enemies, "cast Šamas-šum-ukin on a glowing pile of fire," whatever that may mean, and so ended his life. Then the sack of Babylon is described, which does not concern us here. But immediately after, in his seventh campaign, Ašurbânipal proceeds against Ummanaldasu. It certainly looks as if Indabigaš lost his throne and life before Babylon fell.

We now turn to examine the dates of Šamas-šum-ukin's reign, remembering that it is most important to fix the first year of his reign, so as to know what is meant by the dates of his regnal years.

THE ACCESSION OF ŠAMAS-ŠUM-UKIN.—We are nowhere explicitly told in which Eponymy Šamas-šum-ukin came to the throne, nor in which Eponymy he died. The Ptolemaic Canon, however, which dates Merodach Baladan in B.C. 721, Sargon in B.C. 709, Esarhaddon in B.C. 680, put Saosduchinos in B.C. 667 and Chineladanos in B.C. 647. Berossus gives to both "Sammuges and his brother" a reign of twenty-one years. For these dates consult the recent histories, *e.g.*, Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Vol. I, p. 334.

These dates are undoubtedly based on Babylonian sources, such as the *Babylonian Chronicle* (B), [Rogers, I, pp. 314 ff.] and may be accepted as final; only we need to examine them. There is no question but that Šamas-šum-ukin succeeded Esarhaddon on the throne of Babylon, but there has been difference of opinion as to the extent of his rule, the nature of his independence, and the date of his accession. The last question alone concerns us here.

Ašurbânipal regards himself as the source of his brother's power, he claims to have set Šamas-šum-ukin on the throne of Babylon. He calls him "a faithless brother, to whom I had been good, whom I had established in the kingship over Babylon," etc. (Rogers, II, p. 265.)

This has been regarded with suspicion as mere boasting on his part. The appointment of Šamas-šum-ukin is ascribed to Esarhaddon, and Šamas-šum-ukin has even been regarded as a patriot king, seeking to free Babylon from an oppressive tyrant.

But such contentions are quite beside the mark. If Esarhaddon had set his son on the throne of Babylon, Šamas-šum-ukin must have reigned both in B.C. 669 and B.C. 648, and would thus have reigned twenty-two years. If Esarhaddon did not set him on the

throne, no one but Ašurbânipal could do it. There was no organized native power to elect him. Marduk, the god of Babylon, in whose presence alone could a king become legitimate ruler of Babylon, was captive in Assyria.

There is no doubt that Esarhaddon died on the 10th of Arahsamna, B.C. 669, and that Ašurbânipal succeeded him at once as king of Assyria. The first complete year of Ašurbânipal was B.C. 668, coinciding with the Eponymy of Marlârim. But there is good reason to suppose that Šamas-šum-ukin did not enter upon his reign in Babylon so soon. The Ptolemaic Canon makes his first year to be B.C. 667. This alone, in face of the proved accuracy of that document for the preceding reigns, would be decisive. But we have corroborative evidence.

When, on the death of Esarhaddon, his mother Zakûtu, with her grandsons, Ašurbânipal, Šamas-šum-ukin, Šamas-mitu-uballiṣ, and the nobles of Assyria, issued a proclamation to the people of Assyria, declaring Ašurbânipal to be their rightful king, it is clear that Šamas-šum-ukin supported his brother's claim to the throne of Assyria. But there is no hint to show that he was already king of Babylon. For the text of this proclamation see 83-1-18, 45: Professor Bezold's great *Catalogue*, p. 1858.

Further, we have distinct evidence that Šamas-šum-ukin was not in power as king in Babylon even after Ašurbânipal had come to the throne in Assyria. In Dr. J. A. Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, No. 149, dated on the 23rd of Nisânu, in the Eponymy of Marlârim, Ašurbânipal, *already king of Assyria*, sends to inquire at the oracle of the Sungod whether Šamas-šum-ukin, son of Esarhaddon, shall "take the hands of Bêl," *i.e.*, become legitimate monarch of Babylon, "this year;" and whether he shall enter the city of Babylon. The place where he was to take the hands of Bêl was clearly in the city of Aššur. It is evident that Bêl-Marduk had not yet returned to Babylon, but was still in Aššur, whither Sennacherib had carried him captive in B.C. 687. Now, whether the answer to this inquiry was favourable or not, Šamas-šum-ukin could not count the Eponymy of Marlârim as his first year. Hence even if he had been permitted to take the hands of Bêl while still in Aššur, his first year was B.C. 667, while Ašurbânipal's first year was B.C. 668.

Šamas-šum-ukin may well have proceeded to Babylon in B.C. 668, or even late in B.C. 669, and there taken up the reins of power, but till he had "taken the hands of Bêl" he could not be acknowledged

king. Was it possible to go to Aššur, and there take the hands of Bêl? Apparently not. While Bêl was in Aššur, for eight years, the *Babylonian Chronicle* reckons Babylon "kingless." Esarhaddon himself was only *Šakkanakku*. The *Babylonian Chronicle* says nothing of his being "king of Babylon," only it acknowledges his sovereignty by counting the years of his rule in Assyria. The Babylonian Kings' List A, which gives the first eight years of Bêl's captivity to Sennacherib, acknowledges Esarhaddon as king. But this was evidently not the prevailing view.

In order to remove all doubt on the point, we may now give due weight to the data of the *Babylonian Chronicle*. After recording the death of Esarhaddon on the 10th of Arahsamna, it states that "Šamaš-šum-ukin, in Babylon, Ašurbânipal in Assyria, two sons of Esarhaddon, sat upon the throne." But it does not state the day of accession of either. It goes on to state that "in Šamas-šum-ukin's accession year, *šattu rēš*, Bêl and the gods of Akkad set out from Aššur, and on the 23rd of Aaru entered Babylon."

Now a great deal is involved in these data. If Šamaš-šum-ukin had become king in Babylon directly on his father's death, his accession year could not possibly have had an Aaru. Hence Šamaš-šum-ukin was not king in the Eponymy in which Esarhaddon died. In the following Eponymy, in Aaru, he was still in his "accession year." Hence in whatever Eponymy Esarhaddon died, the next Eponymy was only an "accession year" in Babylon, and the following Eponymy was Šamas-šum-ukin's "first" year in Babylon. According to the Ptolemaic Canon this was B.C. 667. Hence Esarhaddon died in B.C. 669.

We know from Assyrian sources that Šamaš-šum-ukin was not yet king in the Eponymy of Marlârim. Hence we have independent witness to the date of Marlârim; or from his date we can date both the death of Esarhaddon and the accession of Šamaš-šum-ukin.

We may conclude with tolerable certainty that Šamaš-šum-ukin brought back "Bêl and the gods of Akkad" with him; and, after their installation, duly took the hands of Bêl, and so became legitimate monarch. There can be no doubt, any way, that B.C. 667, the Eponymy of Gabbaru in Assyria, was his first year.

On this reckoning B.C. 648 was his twentieth year as king of Babylon. Now the Ptolemaic Canon assigns B.C. 647 to Chineladanos, his successor. Šamaš-šum-ukin died, therefore, before the Eponymy of B.C. 648 was ended; at latest, before Nisânu in B.C. 647.

That Berossus and his sources gave Šamaš-šum-ukīn a reign of 21 years is most easily accounted for by reckoning from the death of Esarhaddon. Even the *Babylonian Chronicle* favours the view that Šamaš-šum-ukīn was king from his father's death onwards. It thus gets over the difficulty of his illegitimate rule, in the absence of Bêl, by making his "accession year" at least eighteen months long.

Unfortunately the *Babylonian Chronicle* does not go beyond the "accession" year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn.

THE DATE OF ŠAMAŠ-ŠUM-UKĪN'S DEATH.—From Cuneiform sources we cannot yet produce an exact statement of the year, either regnal or Eponymic, still less of the month and day, on which Šamaš-šum-ukīn died. But we can already fix limits. The Ptolemaic Canon forbids us to place it as late as the first of Nisānu B.C. 647, for that was already in the reign of Chineladanos. How long that king's accession year extended we have not yet inquired.

The earliest possible date we could assign to Group III is obtained by putting it B.C. 658 to B.C. 649, for Group I occupies B.C. 666 to B.C. 659. Now Professor C. P. Tiele, in his *Babylonisch-Assyrische-Geschichte*, p. 389, has already argued that Bêlšunu was the Eponym of B.C. 648. For Ašurbânipal's Cylinder B, K. 2732, as published in III R. 34, contains no record of the fall of Babylon, nor of the death of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. It does record the commencement of the war between the brothers and some events which we know to have occurred after the siege began. This Cylinder is dated in the month of Âbu. If we placed Bêlšunu as late as B.C. 647, as Šamaš-šum-ukīn according to the Ptolemaic Canon did not survive the commencement of this Eponymy, he was already dead, four or five months, when this Cylinder B was written. That is practically inconceivable, if the Cylinder really makes no mention of such a noteworthy occurrence.

It is very strange that G. Smith, who assigns Bêlšunu to a date as late as B.C. 646, of course with some reserve, should have overlooked so weighty a consideration. But unfortunately the text given in III R. is restored from duplicates of Cylinder B. Only the first thirty-two lines and the last ten lines are really on Cylinder B. Who shall say what the intermediate lines contained? That the fragments K. 1729, K. 1741, and K. 1794 are duplicates to some extent seems likely, but they may have been dated somewhat earlier. One at least of them, K. 1729, is dated in the month Du'ûzu. Even if

this was in the Eponymy of Bêlšunu, there is no certainty, from the fact that, so far as preserved, it is a duplicate of K. 2732, that it was a duplicate all through.

Hence until Cylinder B, at any rate in its last column, is completely restored, we shall not know that it made no mention of the death of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. If we are allowed to assume, however, that Cylinder B, and the duplicates used to restore the last column, were identical in contents with that last column, we cannot be sure that Šamaš-šum-ukīn survived Ābu in this Eponymy.

It is at least some confirmation of this assumption that we can place Bêlšunu in B.C. 648, but not earlier. We may finally have to place him later. On the assumption that he is to be placed in B.C. 648 we must suppose that, at any rate in Assyria, the death of Šamaš-šum-ukīn was not known before Ābu of that year. It therefore may have occurred anywhere after that date before Nisānu of the next year. But these assumptions are not yet proved. I have before stated that, for these reasons, I consider that Tiele was not fully justified in placing Bêlšunu in B.C. 648, and Dr. Peiser, who does the same, advances no fresh reason. We must seek other reasons.

We can now approach the problem from other sides, from perfectly independent sources, both Babylonian and Assyrian. We possess a number of commercial documents dated by the regnal years of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. Such are known to exist dated in the 9th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, and (I think) 20th years of his reign.

Some of these are clearly drawn up during the siege of Babylon. A tablet, dated in the 18th year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, on the 13th of Araḥsamna, in the possession of Miss Emily Ripley, was published by Dr. E. A. W. Budge in *P.S.B.A.*, January, 1888, p. 146, plates IV-VI. Here we have a note at the end of the tablet, *ina ūmēšuma sunḫu u dannatum ina māti iššakinma ummu ana marti ūl ipatti bāba*, "in those days want and misery was laid upon the land, and a mother would not open the door to a daughter." The latter phrase is proverbial, to indicate the severity of the distress, which made even women insensible to the claims of natural affection.

Another tablet, 83-1-18, 2597, dated the 24th of Du'uzu, in the 19th year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, has the note, *sunḫu u dannatum ina māti iššakin*, evidently a regular expression as before for great distress.

A third tablet, 81-11-3, 71, dated the 9th of Tebētu, in the 19th year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, is published by Dr. T. G. Pinches in the

Proceedings of the Victoria Institute, 1892. There we find a loan of money, on the condition that it shall be returned without interest on the day when the face of the country shall be opened, *ina ûmê pâni mâti ittaptu*. The same misery endures. We read again, *ina ûmêtu ina ali Lami(mu?) sunku u dannatu ina mâti (iššakinma)*. Whether these restorations (in brackets) be correct or not, the sense is clearly the same. Then we read, *nîšê ina lâ makalê imuttu*, "the people died from want of food," a perfectly original form of expression.

The last tablet which we shall quote is Rm. IV, 93. It was published by Strassmaier in the *Actes du Congrès de Stockholm*, p. 281 and plate 8, No. 6. Here we have the note, *ina ûmêšuma amêlu nakiru eli ali nadima sunku ina mâti iššakinma maḥîru 3 KA ŠE-BAR ana 1 šîkil kaspi ina bušri iššamu*. We may render, "in those days the enemy were encamped against the city, want was laid upon the land, the price of three KA of corn was named as one shekel of silver, through scarcity." As the regular price of corn was a GUR or 180 KA, for a shekel, this price was sixtyfold the normal rate.

The date of the tablet is unfortunately broken. Strassmaier gave what looks like the "tenth" year, but there is a suggestion of another slant wedge. There could have been no reason for such extremity of famine in B.C. 658. While the other tablets mark great distress, they use more or less conventional phrases. This is evidently at the last extremity, no siege could last much longer. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that this was dated in the 20th year of Šamaš-šum-ukîn. The month and day, the 29th of Aaru, are certain.

Now assuming that Šamaš-šum-ukîn's reign was reckoned from B.C. 667 as his "first year," we have clear evidence that from Araḥ-samna B.C. 650, to Tebêtu B.C. 649, and probably up to the end of Aaru B.C. 648, the city of Babylon was straitly shut up and besieged. Cylinder B was written only two months later. Whether Babylon held out all that time we do not know. The cylinder might have been too nearly completed when the news came to Assyria for the scribe to stay his hand. It may even be the case that the arrival of the news caused the cylinder to be discarded, and so not buried in a foundation niche, but stored in the Library. However that may have been, we have a view of the state of affairs in Babylon that fits well with our previous results.

These four tablets were drawn up by different scribes, for different

parties, evidently better class citizens, and in the city of Babylon itself. We have, as yet, no tablets from this period dated in Babylon which do not contain a note of the misery and want. The phrases remind one of Ašurbânipal's own words in Cylinder Rm., dated after the death of Šamaš-šum-ukin and the capture of Babylon.

We have now determined independently of the Ptolemaic Canon, from Cuneiform sources, the years and probable duration of the siege. It may have begun earlier, for the distress was already great in B.C. 650, and it may have lasted after Aaru B.C. 648, but certainly not long. That the Ptolemaic Canon allows us some ten months longer is true, but it only demands that Šamaš-šum-ukin was alive after Nisānu B.C. 648, and dead before the next Nisānu.

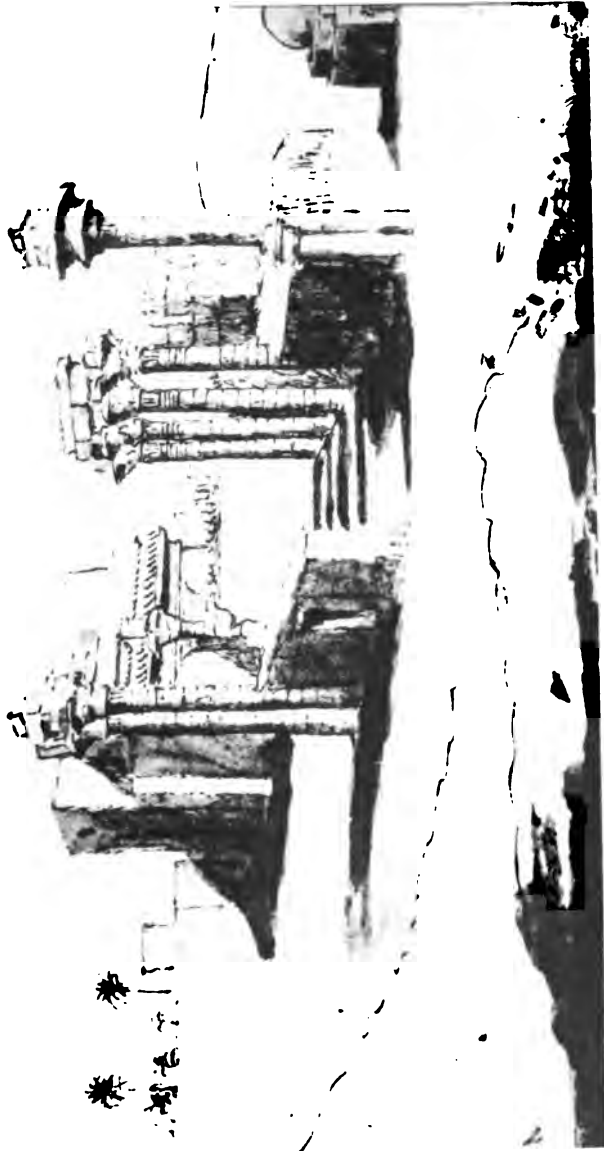
THE TEMPLE AT ERMENT AS IT WAS IN 1850.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

In Lady Amherst's *Sketch of Egyptian History*, facing p. 216, is given a drawing from a photograph taken in 1861 by Mr. C. G. Fountaine, of the Ptolemaic temple at Erment, which is now almost entirely destroyed. Through the kindness of the Marquis of Northampton, I am able to give here a reproduction of a sepia sketch of the same temple drawn by the second Marquis on a voyage up the Nile in 1850 (see Plate). A note in his diary dated February 7, 1850, runs as follows:—"Visited the ruins of Hermonthis . . . They consist of two small chambers, portions of walls, and several columns belonging to the portico. These stand freely in the open air, are seen to their bases, or nearly so, and are very picturesque."

A photographic view of the same temple is given in F. Frith's *Lower Egypt and Thebes*, published by W. Mackenzie, of Paternoster Row, London, 18 . . . (?).

[These views of temples and other Egyptian monuments which have now altogether disappeared, are of considerable interest. I shall be glad to give reproductions of similar, accurate, drawings or photographs taken during the past forty or fifty years, that may be entrusted to me.—W. L. NASH, *Secretary*.]



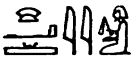
THE TEMPLE OF ERMENT, AS IT WAS IN 1850

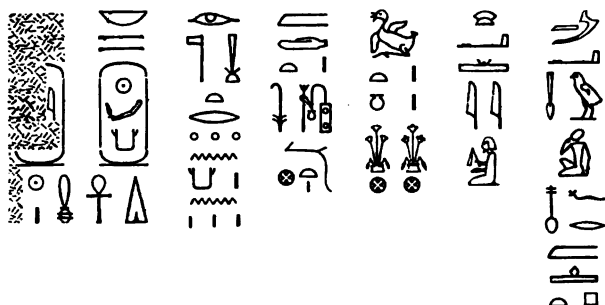
From a drawing made by the second Marquis of Northampton


EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS.

VIII.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

58. THE VEZÎR KHAÿ.—In a previous note (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXII, p. 62) I called attention to some monuments naming  Khaï, Vezîr of Rameses II. In Lord Amherst's collection is a limestone slab from Khaï's tomb, which has hitherto remained unpublished. It shows the Vezîr "burning incense before the ka of Amenhetep I" (the patron god of the Theban necropolis), and records several of his titles. Above the scene the inscription reads :—



























The title  is important as showing that he was Vezîr of Memphis as well as of Thebes, of Upper as well as of Lower, Egypt. The slab was bought by Lord Amherst at Luxor in 1895.

59. THE QUEEN OF SEBEKHETEP III.—In the XXVth volume of these *Proceedings* (p. 358) I published the inscription on a fragment of an ebony box in the Cairo Museum which names the queen of Kha-nefer-Ra (Sebekhetep III). Another relic naming the same queen is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This is

a small fragment of a blue glazed faïence vase, with the following inscription written upon it in brown glaze :—



“[The Princess] Nebt-ant . . . born of the Royal wife, Za-en, possessing the quality of worth.”

60. PYRAMIDION OF AN OFFICIAL OF QUEEN SENSEB.—In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a limestone pyramidion, om. 35 high by om. 3 wide at the base, naming the  *kher-heb*, “lector,” of the                        <



- (1) (2) (3) (4)


Sensenb is, of course, the well-known mother of Thothmes I: the pyramidion consequently dates from the first quarter of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

61. HIERATIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PYRAMID AT MÊDÛM.—When visiting Mêdûm in 1891, I found on the roof near the entrance of the long corridor leading to the sarcophagus chamber of Seneferu's pyramid three small hieratic inscriptions, written in

black ink. These (see Plate, figs. 1, 2, 3) give the names of two scribes (Sekert and Amen-mes), and are interesting as showing that an official inspection was made of the pyramid some time during the XXth Dynasty, the hieratic writing being certainly of that date.

62. A *post*-XIITH DYNASTY KING MENTUHE^{TEP}.—M. Legrain¹ discovered at Karnak last season a small statuette of a king seated upon a throne, which bears on its sides the following inscriptions:

(1)  (2) 

 This statuette M. Legrain is inclined to place in

the XIth Dynasty. The prenomen, however, should be compared

with those of  Mer-nefer-Ra,  Mer-hetep-Ra,

   Nefer-ankh-Ra, and     Dedui-ankh-Ra, which

kings form a well-defined group that seems to belong to the period immediately following the Sebek-hetep group. The expression "Beloved of Sebek, Lord of Sunu," is also important with regard to date, for mention of this religious locality does not, I believe, occur before the second half of the XIIth Dynasty. The name Mentuhetep does not necessarily imply the XIth Dynasty, for recorded on a fragment of a coffin in the British Museum² is a king Mentuhetep—who is undoubtedly *post-* rather than *pre-*XIIth Dynasty in date, and may, indeed, be the same king as is represented on M. Legrain's Karnak statuette.

63. SOME SMALL INSCRIBED OBJECTS :—

(a) The Vezir User-mentu. Fragment of a statuette in black granite inscribed down the front of the legs:

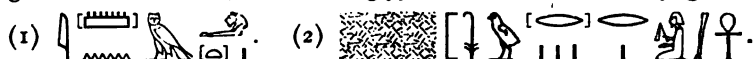
[illegible]

"The deceased, the *sab*, judge, *ari Nekhen*, priest of Maat, superintendent of the Six Great Houses, the Vezfr, User-mentu justified, born of Neb-mehf." XIIIth-XVIIth Dynasty. [Luxor Dealer.]

¹ *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XXVI, p. 221.


² S.B.A. *Proc.*, 1891, p. 41.

(b) Amenemhat surnamed Sururî. Fragment of a light blue glazed faïence vase, with hieroglyphs in dark blue inlay glaze :



[In the possession of the Baroness Fejervâry.]

The tomb of Amenemhat surnamed Sururî is in the Helwet el Howa at Thebes, and several statuettes of him are preserved in the Louvre, British, and other, Museums. His date is of the time of Amenhetep III.

(c) A Queen named Merÿ-neb-es. Fragment of a basalt block inscribed : . From the style of the cutting and hieroglyphs this queen is probably XXVIth Dynasty in date. [Nahmans, Cairo.]

(d) Amethyst bead inscribed with the premen of—



“The good god Sekhem-se-uaz-taui-Ra, beloved of Hathor, Mistress of . . . ri.” [MacGregor Collection.]

(e) Amethyst lion couchant inscribed with the premen of Usertsen I:—



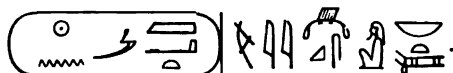
[MacGregor Collection.]

(f) Red jasper plaque of Nefer-ankh-Ra (see Plate, figs. 4, 5). XIIIth–XVIIth Dynasty. [MacGregor Collection.]

(g) A small black steatite object inscribed with the nomen of Pepÿ (Plate, fig. 6). [Athens Museum.]

(h) A small black steatite object inscribed with the premen of Mer-en-Ra (Plate, fig. 7). Said to have come from Sakkara. Purchased last year in Cairo. [Capt. Timmins' Collection.]

(i) Cylindrical steatite bead, green glazed (turned brown), bearing the premen of Amenemhat III and inscribed—



[Delhaes Collection, Buda Pesth.]

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠

1

"SCRIBE AMEN-MES."

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠

2

"SCRIBE SEKERTI."

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠

3

"SCRIBE AMEN-MES."



OBVERSE.

4

—



REVERSE.

5



6



7

(j) Steatite cylinder-seal of Amenemhat III—

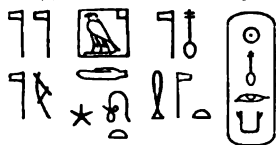


[Vienna Museum.]

(k) Blue-green steatite cylinder-seal inscribed with a new "Golden Horus" title: . The date of this cylinder-seal is about the end of the Middle Kingdom.

[Timmins Collection.]

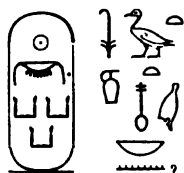
(l) Black steatite cylinder-seal of Nefer-âr-ka-Ra :—




Another cylinder-seal of Nefer-âr-ka-Ra is in the Ward Collection.

[Timmins Collection.]

(m) Blue glazed steatite cylinder-seal of a princess of Amenemhat II :—

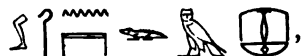


[Timmins Collection.]

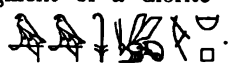
(n) Shawabti figure (limestone) of the 

, "High Priest of Amen in Sma-behtet (Pachnamunis in the Delta), Chief of the engravers, Ya." Middle XVIIIth Dynasty.

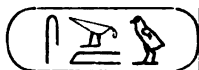
[In the Collection of Mr. F. Danson of Birkenhead.]

(o) Small limestone altar of the , "uartu of the Ruler's table, Sebek-em-heb." XIIIth Dynasty.

[In the Collection of Mr. F. Danson of Birkenhead.]

(p) Fragment of a diorite vase inscribed with the name of Merbapen: . From the Amelineau excavations at Abydos. [In the Collection of Mr. F. Danson of Birkenhead.]

THE KING SAMOU OR SESHEMOU

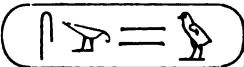


AND THE ENCLOSURES OF EL-KAB.

BY G. LEGRAIN.

In the winter of 1854-55, the REV. H. STOBART brought from Egypt a collection of antiquities, the greater part of which is now in the Museum at Liverpool. These monuments were published in 1855,¹ and many of them illustrated. One of the drawings (see Plate) represents a stele, which is thus described: "Stone tablet found at El Qab bearing the date of the 44th year of Amenemha III (XIIth dynasty) and the 'Standard' name of Sesurtasen III."

PROF. PIERRET also (*Vocabulaire*, p. 489) mentions—

" devise d'enseigne d'Usertesen II, enfermée dans un cartouche (Stele Stobart)."

PROF. DR. A. WIEDEMANN (*Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 255) thus refers to this stele: "eine Stele aus El-Kab, welche den Befehl zur anlage einer Maner in dieser Stadt enthält." But he gives no reference or indication.

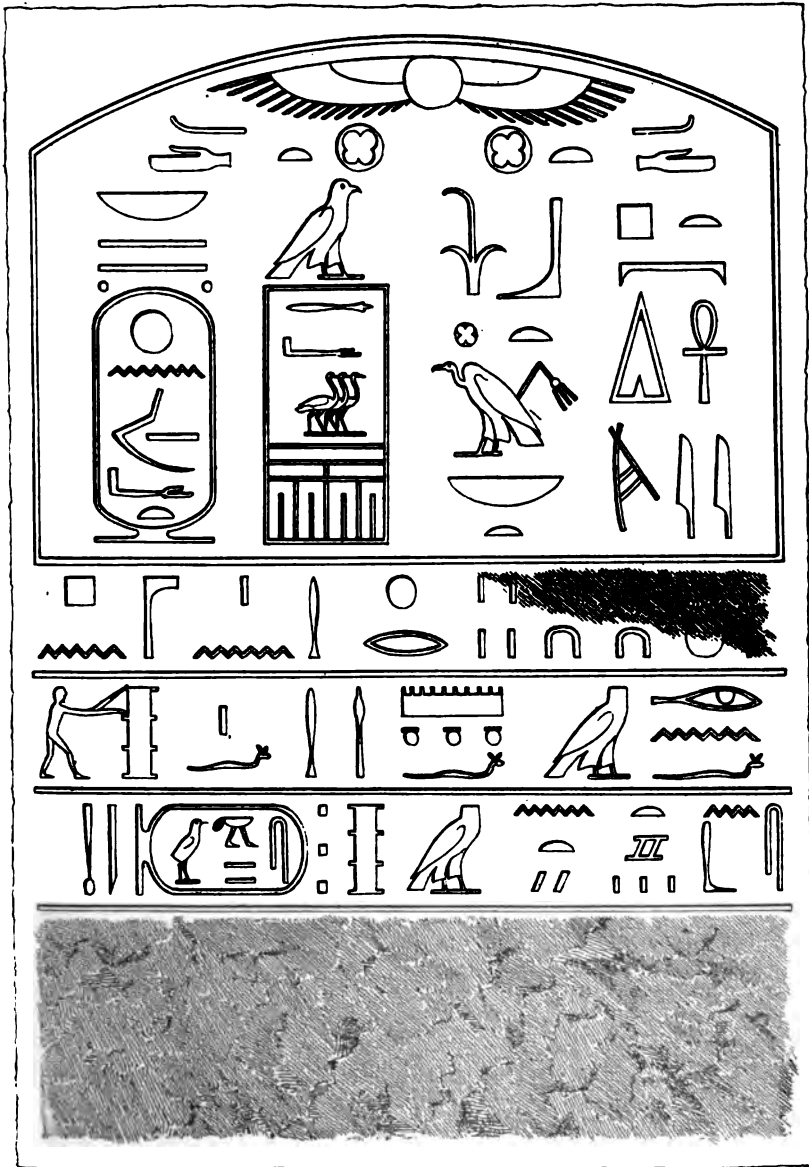
PROF. DR. PETRIE writes in his *History of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 193, "on the opposite bank, at El-Kab, was a stele in the forty-fourth year, concerning the building of a wall (Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 255)."

The peculiarity of a "Standard" name being enclosed in a cartouche, long since attracted my attention, and made me think that a revision or correction, of the text was necessary.²

¹ "Egyptian Antiquities collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt in the years 1854, 1855, and published by the REV. H. STOBART, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford. Berlin 1855, Varsch and Happe lithogr. fac. sim. under the direction of DR. H. BRUGSCH."

² I asked Mr. Nash to ascertain where this stele now is, but neither he nor Mr. Newberry has been able to find it in the Liverpool Museum, nor does the museum catalogue mention it.

[I am informed that many of the stone objects in the Stobart collection are



THE "STOBART" STELE.

From "Egyptian Antiquities collected by the Rev. H. Stobart."

The stele has the top edge rounded, and the Solar disc extends its wings within the arch. Below, on the left, can be read the Horus-name *Aā-Biou*, and the Throne-name *Maitniri*, of Amenemhät III—



who, on the right, is described as—



“beloved of Nekhabit, mistress of Heaven, giving life.”

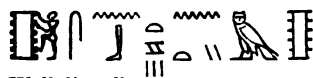
Below these inscriptions come several lines of text, three of which only are legible :


















very much decayed. It may be that the stele in question has suffered so much from "flaking" of the inscribed surface, as to have become totally illegible.—W.L.N.]

MR. QUIBELL (*El Kab*, p. 13) says, "Now there is a stele from El-Kab, to which Dr. Spiegelberg calls my attention (published in Stobart, *Egypt. Antiq.*, Pl. I), which states that Amenemhat III restored the walls, at El Kab, which Usertesen II had built."

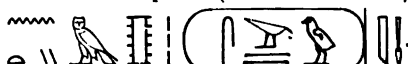
³ BRUGSCH, in his *Wörterbuch*, translates a fragment of this text



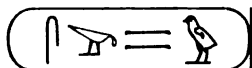

















Wall dient." by "bauen eine Umfassungsmauer welche als









The two first, and the commencement of the third, lines read as follows :—



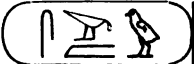

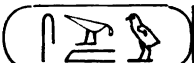
“In the year 44 of this god (Amenemhät III) he built his memorial monument. His majesty ordered the ramparts (or enclosure-walls) to be constructed” 


Let us first of all study the cartouche, which is not written



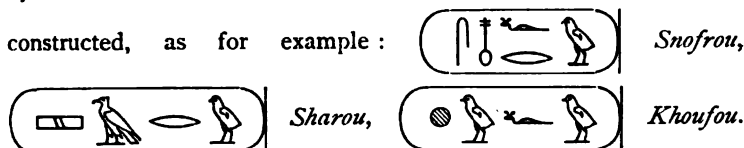
as given by Pierret, but .

We cannot readily admit that the signs thus grouped represent, in one way or another, the Horus-name of Ousertasen II, here given ; and why, moreover, should this Horus-name—the name of the Double, of the *Ka*—be enclosed in a cartouche? As a matter of caligraphy the  is not in the proper place if it belongs to the word  . Grammatically it is useless and faulty after , a group that does not require the termination  or  in order to indicate the plural. Lastly, the two lines  are not .

These observations lead me to think that the two lines  are the fragments of a sign , and that the cartouche of the Stobart stele ought to be read . The root  is sufficiently common in Egyptian (*cf.* BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1222 and ff.) to make this correction admissible. Can we have here *another* new king? I think so, in spite of my objection to increasing the list of kings, which lengthens yearly. I even think that we can provisionally place the king  SAMOU or SAMOUÏ, or perhaps SOUM, if we adopt M. Loret's ingenious hypothesis,⁴

⁴ “Une hypothèse au sujet de la vocalisation Égyptienne.” *S.B.A. Proceedings*, November and December, 1904. The sign  is also pronounced “seshem.”

by the side of the other Pharaohs whose names are similarly constructed, as for example :



All these names, moreover, have been found at El-Kab.⁵

Manetho's list shows us that we do not yet know all the kings of the first dynasties—if he knew them himself; and the names of Turis, Mesokhris, Soufis, Tamphthis, are not yet identified with certainty. We may perhaps even identify our king with the king "*Sma*" of Prof. Petrie. But the existence of this king is disputed.

Having made the proposed correction, we will return to the study of the text of the stele:—

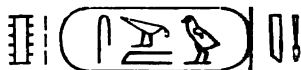
I. The formula is known, and signifies "that which has relation to"; "which makes part of"; "which coincides"; "which is contained in"; "which is in relation with"; "which is incorporated in," etc.


II. The group is a local designation, a compound word, like , "the house of Amenothis"; , "the house of Khorp-Khopirri"; , "the palace of Shotpouabû"; , "the lake of Snefrou"; , "The walls of the prince," which he built as a defence against the Sittiu (Sinouhit), etc. "En Égyptien," says


⁵ Cf. PROF. SAYCE, "*A new Egyptian king, the predecessor of Kheops.*" *S.B.A. Proceedings*, March, 1899; and "*The Egyptian king Sharu or Soris,*" March, 1904. The tombs discovered at El-Kab by Mr. Quibell in 1896, 1897, are of this period. The most important one, that of *Kamena*, is contemporaneous with Snofrou.

M. Loret, "la juxtaposition directe de deux substantifs, sans l'aide d'aucune préposition, suffit pour marquer la possession, la dépendance, pour indiquer en un mot une relation, un rapport quelconque entre les deux noms."

It is for this reason that we translate



"the walls of the king Samou, true of voice," or, better, "deceased." Our complete translation, therefore, would be, "year 44 of the reign of this god (Amenemhâit III) he erected his memorial monument. His Majesty ordered the construction of the ramparts which are connected with the walls of the King Samou, deceased." This text explains itself, if we remember that it refers to El-Kab and its fortified enclosure-walls. In the first place it should be noted that it does not refer to the *restoration* of a monument, but to a *new* construction. (cf. , "to build," "to form," "to create.")

BRUGSCH, *W.B.*, p. 1361). The  *sonbitou*, ramparts or enclosure-walls, the construction of which is mentioned, are built by order of Amenemhâit III, they did not exist before his time. Mr. Somers Clarke has very kindly sent me a plan of El-Kab, which may enable us to identify the walls built by King Samou. From what Mr. Clarke tells me, it appears that the original town, seated on the river bank, was surrounded by a double enclosure-wall. The enclosure, if we may judge from what remains of it, was of an elliptical or ovoid form. Pottery and monuments, going back to the archaic period and to the commencement of Egyptian civilization, have been found there.

It seems to me that the double enclosure-wall which surrounded the ancient town must be of the date of King Samou, and I do not think I err in placing this sovereign as I have done. The great enclosure-wall built over the ancient town and over its double enclosure-wall covered a part of the Ancient-Empire cemetery, the tombs of which were discovered in 1896-97, it is therefore of later date. Perhaps some parts are more ancient than others, to judge by the differences in method of construction,⁶ but I am very much of the same opinion as M. Maspero, who in 1899⁷ said that

⁶ MASPERO, *Hist. Anc.*, I, p. 450, note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 479, note 8.

the wall of El-Kab "est au plus tard de la XII^e dynastie." The Stobart stele seems to prove that it ought to be attributed to Amenemhät III.

Ought we to attribute also to Amenemhät III the enclosure-wall of the temple? Does our monument refer to this wall only, or to both of them?

At present I cannot offer a definite opinion. It is for those who have made a special study of El-Kab, to elucidate the matter and to correct me if I am in error.

THE ASSYRIAN GOD AU.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, *etc.*

In the Rev. C. H. W. Johns's *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* we find a series of proper names in which the Sun-goddess \hat{A} is identified with different deities. Thus we have (AN) Au-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 69) "Au is \hat{A} "; (AN) Samsu-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 155), "the Sun-god is \hat{A} "; (AN) Adad-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 121), "Hadad is \hat{A} "; (AN) Serum-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 83), "the Dawn-god is \hat{A} "; (AN) Babu-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 150), "the goddess Babu is \hat{A} "; (AN) Nusku-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 24), "Nusku is \hat{A} "; (AN) In-aristi-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 281), "In-aristi is \hat{A} "; (AN) Assur-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 276, "Assur is \hat{A} "; Khaldi-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 241), "Khaldis is \hat{A} "; Yumu-šibutu-(AN) \hat{A} (No. 360), "the seventh day is \hat{A} ." We know that both Nusku and In-aristi (formerly read Ninip), the angels of Merodach and Bel of Nippur, were forms of the Sun-god, and that Assur was conceived of in the same way is shown by his symbol, the winged solar disk. It is interesting to learn that Khaldis, the supreme god of Ararat, was also solar, and that the "seventh day" or Sabbath, which being a holy day was divine, could be identified with the Sun-god. Hadad was the Sun-god of Syria, and it was not difficult to identify the "Dawn" with the rising sun.

As Au is \hat{A} , Au too must be solar, and it seems natural to suppose that the name is merely the Semitic form of the Sumerian \hat{A} . But against this supposition the following facts have to be set: (1) A Syrian proper name in one of Mr. Johns's documents (No. 22) is Au-bahdi, which is obviously identical with Yau-bihdi, the name

of a king of Hamath, which is also given as Ilû-bihdi by Sargon. (2) The Semitic Babylonian pronunciation of the name of the god Êa was Aos, that is Au, according to Damascius, and the spelling A-ê instead of Ê-a is actually found in the cuneiform texts, as for example in the proper name (AN) A-ê-epus (R. 72, 5). On the other hand, Merodach the son of Ea is called in the cylinder-inscription of Antiochus Soter (80-6-17, 20, 36) "the offspring of the god Abil-Aua," that is, "the son of Aua," where Ea is himself the son of Aua, who is probably identified by the scribe with the Greek Eôs.

The equivalence of the two forms Au and Yau makes it plain that the Assyrian writer believed them to represent the same name. Yau is the Hebrew Yeho (Yahveh), and its antiquity is evidenced not only by the West Semitic name Yaum-ilu, "Yeho is god," which occurs in Babylonian documents of the Khammu-rabi period (as was first pointed out by me in the *Expository Times*, ix, p. 522), but also by the lexical tablets, which make Yau one of the equivalents of the ideograph *il* "god" (83, 1-18, 1332 *Obv.* II, 1). Indeed, the Babylonian litterati were sufficiently familiar with the divine name to seek an explanation of it in the Assyrian *yau*, "myself."

The conclusion to which all this would lead us is: (1) that Au is the Semitic Babylonian form of the Sumerian Â; (2) that the scribes identified it with the West Semitic Yau, and accordingly wrote Au-bahdi instead of Yau-bihdi; (3) that they regarded Yau as a Sun-god like Hadad; and (4) that in the Greek period Au became confounded with Ea, partly because Ea was called the son of Aua, and partly because his name could be written, with the characters comprising it inverted, A-ê instead of Ê-a. It is thus probable that the Edomite king whose name is written Â-rammu by the scribes of Sennacherib was really Jehoram, Yau becoming first Au, and then Â.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, May 10th, 1905, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

H. R. Hall, Esq., M.A.: "The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Dêr el Bahari," with Lantern-slide Illustrations.

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1905

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OF

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, May 10th, 1905.

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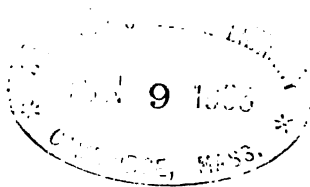
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Fourth Meeting, May 10th, 1905.

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IN THE CHAIR.

— 36 —

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

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The Rev. Dr. McFarland, 150, Fifth Avenue, New York,
 Edgar Harrison, Esq., 12, Leopold Place, Ealing,
 were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read:—

H. R. HALL, ESQ., *M.A.*: “The Eleventh Dynasty Temple
 at Dêr el Bahari.”

(*This Paper was illustrated by Lantern-slides.*)

The subject was discussed by Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Pollard,
 the Secretary, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

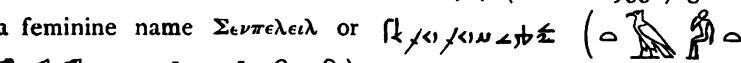

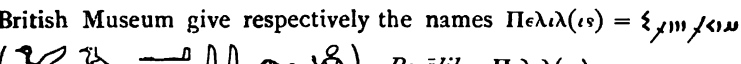
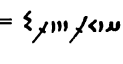
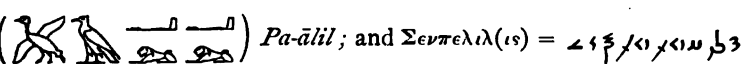
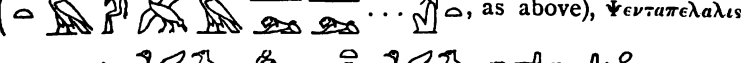
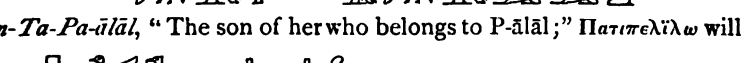
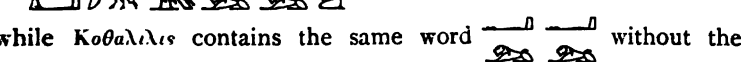
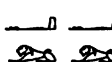
BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.**(Continued from page 91)*

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-LABELS.

40. As 33. 5" x 2".

Πατιπελῖλω
 ἐβιωσεν μ̄

“Patipelilō lived 40 (years).”

The name is curious: REVILLOUT, 4 (Louvre 9330) gives a feminine name Σενπελειλ or  () *Ta-šeret - Pa - ālāl*; KREBS, 30 (Berlin 11339) the same name Σενπελιλ. No. 41 (below) gives the forms Ψενταπελαλις and Κοθαλιλις, and two bilingual labels in the British Museum give respectively the names Πελιλ(ις) =  *Pa-ālil*; Πελιλ(ις) =  *Pa-ālil*; and Σενπελιλ(ις) =  *Pa-ālil*; and Σενπελιλ(ις) =  *Pa-ālil*; as above), Ψενταπελαλις will then be  *Pa-šeren-Ta-Pa-ālāl*, “The son of her who belongs to P-ālāl;” Πατιπελῖλω will =  *Pe-te-Pa-ālāl*, “The Gift of P-ālāl,” while Κοθαλιλις contains the same word  without the

41. As 33. *Sont*-wood. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. Semi-cursive. From Akhmin.

OBV. $\Psi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\omega$
 $\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\Psi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$
 Κοθαλιλειον
 $\Phi\Theta$

REV. same, but 1. $\Psi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$; 3. $\Psi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (*correct*); 4. $\Theta\Theta$.
 Taking Κοθαλιλειον as a genitive, we translate "Psentapelalis the younger, son of Psentapelalis, son of Kothalilis." (v. above, No. 40).

Κοθαλιλις possibly = ⲕⲓⲛⲓⲗⲓⲟⲩ [or ⲕⲓⲛⲓⲗⲓⲗⲓ] "Saith (the) Child" [or "Saith (the) Shrewmouse"] . . . $\epsilon\varsigma\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, &c.

42. As 33. $5'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. "Early uncial. Red ink.

Ιερακιαινα
 Πανισκου

"Hierakiaina (daughter) of Paniskos."

Ιερακιαινα , cf. KREBS, 9, 31 (Berlin 11828, 11833), and No. 65, below. 1st century. [No. 24507.]

43. As 33. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$.

Προφητα υιος
 Σενπανινουθ

"Prophēta son (of) Senpaninouth."

Προφητα is evidently a translation of the original Egyptian name, perhaps of a ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲗⲓⲟⲩ Hen-netār . Σενπανινουθ = ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲗⲓⲟⲩ $\text{Ta-šere-(t) n-Pa-na-nutāru}$, "The Daughter of him who belongs to the Gods." [No. 23182.]

44. As 33. $4'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.

$\text{Παλῶνι υἱὸς Ἀντινοῦ}$
 "Palōni son of Antin[oo]."
 [No. 24550.]

45. As 33. $4'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$

$\text{Πασιῶν υἱὸς Ἀντινοῦ}$
 "Pasiōn son of Antinoos."

Nos. 44 and 45 were apparently attached to the mummies of two sons of Antinoos. The writing would date the labels to the beginning of the third century A.D., but they are probably earlier, since the name Antinoos would have been given to children born about or shortly after the time of the death of Hadrian's favourite in Egypt, *i.e.* about 132 A.D., which will therefore be the *terminus post quem* for the birth of the father of the dead Palōni and Pasiōn.

[No. 24510.]

46. As 33. 4" x 1½".

Τανουπ Ταιας

"Tanoup (daughter) of Taeia."

Τανουπ ("She who belongs to Anubis") was a common name. The writing of this label is the same as that of the two preceding.

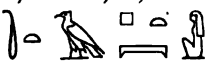

[No. 24462.]

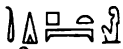
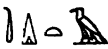
47. As 33. 4" x 2".

Ταβης

υἱος Τατιπε

"Tabēs, son of Tatipe."

Masculine names beginning with Ta— are uncommon (*cf.* Τατετριφιος, KREBS, 1; Berlin, 10628). Τατιπε may be explained as either =  (Τατιπε) "She of Heaven," or as a contraction for Τατριπε (v. No. 38). In B.M. No. 24511 (No. 48, below) we have Τατιπε: the long mark over the ι is more probably a sign of contraction than a substitute for the diæresis; also in B.M. Nos. 24539 we have Τατειπε, which could not represent ,²³ so that on the whole it would seem that Τατιπε is more probably a contraction of Τατριπε. For a similar contraction *cf.* KREBS, 5 (Berlin, 11843). [Or *cf.* the Πατιπις, Τατιπις, of SPIEGELBERG, which = Pa-te-p-hib, Ta-te-p-hib, "He (*resp.* she) whom the Ibis has given."] KREBS, 47 (Berlin, 10547), has "Senekhnēbis daughter of Tabēs." [No. 24448.]

²³  seems impossible: we should certainly expect .

48. As 33. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$.

Τατίπε Βησουτος
εβιωσεν ιθ

"Tatipe (daughter) of Bēsous: lived 19 (years)."

See above, No. 47.

[No. 24511.]

49. As 33. $3'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$.

Τατίπε
Πεκυσιος
ετων κβ

"Tatipe (daughter) of Pekysis: 22 (?) years (old)."



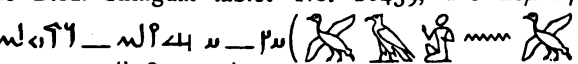

See above, No. 47. Πεκυσιος: cf. No. 28.

[No. 24468.]


50. As 54. $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.

Αρεμηφης Αρν
ωτου μητ Σεψιος
απο Βομπαη

"Haremēphis (son) of Haryōtēs (and of his) mother Sepsis, from Bompāē."

Αρεμηφης =  *Heru-meh-f*, "Horus filleteth him." (Louvre 9542)²⁸: cf. KREBS, 35, 70. Σεψιος, probably = , *Šaise* (Σαίσις), REVILLEOUT, 4 (Louvre 9330). The village of *Bompāē* is constantly mentioned on these labels. On the B.M. bilingual tablet No. 26439, *απο Βομπαη* corresponds to  (, *pa rom*²⁹ *n Pa(i)-Bu(i)-n-*











²⁸ REVILLEOUT, 22. M. REVILLEOUT was the first to point out (*l.c.*) the equation $\infty = \mu\eta = \infty$. BRUGSCH (*W.*, p. 634) and HESS (*Stne Ha-m-us*, p. 202) give only \vee , \vee , γ as the demotic equivalents of ∞ . (In BRUGSCH. *Grammaire Démotique*, $\infty = \infty$ only.)

²⁹ That the vocalization of  was more commonly *p-rom-n*, and not the toneless Coptic $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tilde{\nu}$, is shown by the "Old-Coptic" $\Theta\eta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\sigma\sigma\tau$ of the Berlin label No. 10541, and the $\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\beta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ of Louvre 9589: the $\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\upsilon\tau$ of Louvre, 9518, however, shows that the toneless form was in use. (With this place *Fahbeithis*. [*Paibis*], compare the Theban village *Pzeibetiz*, mentioned in B.M. Coptic ostrakon, No. 5875.)

Aḥā(t), "the man of *Pabunāhā*," i.e., "the Place of the Palace." The various examples published by M. REVILLOUT (*l.c.*) give the equivalent of *Βομπαη* usually as without the preceding . No. 8 (Louvre 9495) has a slight variation () *Bu āḥā(t)*, and No. 2 (Louvre, 9327), the equivalent of *Pa(?)-Nanehi* *āḥāt*, which M. REVILLOUT translates "les sycamores du canal de Paha." But the syllables in this last form, even if correctly transcribed (from , need not necessarily signify "the sycamores," and is not (as M. REVILLOUT appears to transcribe it, = *bāḥ* "canal"). but the simple *bu*, "place," as KREBS has already noted (*l.c.*, p. 44²). Moreover M. REVILLOUT transcribes the sign as *pa*; is also the well-known equivalent of , *āḥā*, which fits well here, and makes sense. It may be objected that this transcription (*Pa*)*Bunaha* does not account for the π of *Βομπαη*. Probably this π is due to an intercalation of the definite article²⁰ in speaking, though not necessarily in writing, the word. Cf. the omission of the μ (=) in the demotic form of the name on the label 9495 of the Louvre (above). In writing the word in Greek letters, the necessities of euphony would demand both the (= μ) and a (= π). The Egyptian name of the town would then be *Bun(p)āḥā(t)*, "Place of the Palace."

M. AMÉLINEAU (*Géographie*, p. 104) will have none of M. REVILLOUT's sycamores and canals, nor will he accept the latter's identification of *Bompaë* with *Sohâg*. "Je ne crois pas, d'ailleurs," says he, "que ces planchettes proviennent de *Sohâg*,

²⁰ Cf. BRUGSCH, *D.G.*, p. 476, .

comme lieu de première origine." That is as it may be, they must have come from a locality near Aḥmim, near which we must also place Bompāē. Therefore we cannot accept M. REVILLOUT's identification of  (or as he would apparently prefer to write it ) with , Pa-Aḥā, a town in the Kynopolite nome (B., D.G. p. 476). Also the sacred trees of Pa-Aḥā, to which M. REVILLOUT appeals, were not  (sycamores) but  (mulberries?) and  (tamarisks). [I leave this as originally written. SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 67,* makes the word =  Bunpahēt, "see-see-pa-zh," for which however he does not give any meaning. I still believe that the ṽ here is , not , and that Βομπαι really = , Bun(pa)āḥāl, "the Place of the Palace."] Late IIInd Cent. [No. 23191.]

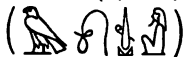
51. As 54. $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.

Σανσωντος 1.ε''
 Αρνωτου φλωφει
 ΕΤΟΥΣ νη κε

“Of Sansnōs (son) of Haryōtes, (in his) 58th year. Year 5 (?)
25th Phaōphi.”

Very few of these labels bear the date of the year of the reigning Emperor, and in this case the date "Year 5," even if correctly read, which is very doubtful, will help us little to an accurate dating of the object, as several Emperors, even in the third century A.D., reigned longer than five years. The name *Savonare* is one of a common type, constantly met with on these labels. It = 373 (𐌱𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰) *Sen-sneū*, "Two Brethren." Many

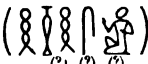


of these to us oddly formed names, such as Senphthonsneus "Daughter of four Brethren," Senkhentsan "Daughter of three Brethren," Sensontôou "Daughter of the King of the Two Lands," etc., which are never found even in the latest pharaonic age, are to be gleaned from these mummy labels.

The name Ἀρνώτης is not uncommon: cf. KREBS, 4, 22, 74, 88; LE BLANT 12 (Ἀρεωθης), 66 (Ἀρηοτης); REVILLOUT, I, 8 (Ἀνρηλιος Ἀρνωτης); PARTHEY, p. 20 (Ἀρνωθης). The demotic form (Louvre, 9328) is  *Heru-ul'a* (pronounced *Har-w'ij*, *Ἡρῶτοϥ), a common name under the XXVth Dynasty and later. [No. 24515.]

52. AS 54. $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$.

Ἀσιης Σισοῖ
 ιος μητρος
 Ταμονσιαυτος

"Asiēs (son) of Sisoīs (and his) mother Tamonsiaus."

Ἀσιης in the bilingual tablet of the Louvre No. 9486 = 32,947
 () *Hes*, "Singer." (REVILLOUT, 17.) Σισοῖς is the Greek attempt to write the Egyptian words 
 T'(t)l'(o)i , Tjitjoi, the Coptic $\chi\iota\chi\omega\iota$.³¹
 Cf. Louvre 9500 (REVILLOUT 26) [Ταμονσιαυς is probably connected with the Ταμεσιαυς of SPIEGELBERG, *s.n.*, which is apparently the same as Θεσιῶς, No. 3, *ante, q.v.*]. Late IIInd Cent. [No. 23205.]

³¹ This name, which was not uncommon in Egypt, apparently from the earliest times (since it is given in one of the king-lists as the name of the first king of the IIIrd dynasty), apparently means "hairy," or even "the man with a wig."

(To be continued.)

LYDIAN AND KARIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN EGYPT.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, &c.

I. I have recently re-examined the Lydian inscription I discovered a little north of Silsilis in 1893 and published in the *Proceedings* of this Society (Jan., 1895, pp. 41-3). I have there explained where and how it is cut, on the edge of a rock that was subsequently quarried away, and facing the quarry instead of the contrary way. Over the first line the Greek *graffito* of Ammonios has been cut at a time when the rock had already been quarried, as the Greek letters face away from the excavation. This makes the line in question very difficult to decipher and renders the form of the fifth character not absolutely certain, as it may be the μ of the second line instead of the form I have given. As my previous copy of this line was not altogether correct, I give a fresh copy of the whole inscription. The first line is the beginning of it, and has not been written by another hand as I previously supposed. The inequality of the lines is due to the formation of the rock, and though the characters of the first line seem smaller than those of the second, the difference in size between them is not very great.

The value of the second character in the first line is furnished by the Lycian alphabet, in which it represents ϵ or $\bar{\epsilon}$. The fifth character must also be a vowel, and if, as I believe after repeated examination, it is not μ , it is probably a modification of it. Consequently the *graffito* reads L- $\bar{\epsilon}$ -k-kh- \bar{u} (?)-g(?) A-l-u-s M-r-sh-t-l-z-u-l. Professor Thomsen has suggested that *zul* signifies "son." The fourth character in the first line is not a *phi*, the two cross lines having been intended by the engraver for one only, and it more probably represents *kh* than *h* (as in Karian and Lycian). The last character may correspond with the *g* of Karian and Lycian, though a similar letter is found on a Pamphylian (?) coin in the British Museum occupying the place of *s* in a duplicate legend on a coin at Vienna.¹ We should expect a word like "I have written," or *proskynēma*, or possibly "has come here."

¹ Here, however, the fact is probably the converse, and it is *s* which has the value of *g*. At all events I believe that the word is *S-l-g* or *Selgē*. I have given the different forms of the legend at the end of my Paper on *The Karian Language*.

II. This Karian inscription was discovered by M. Legrain in the Khôr el-Ghorâb, north of Silsilis. He took a cast of it, now in the Cairo Museum, from which I have made the copy published here. The beginning of the inscription has been lost, and we should perhaps supply the name of [Me-s-n-a-w]-ai or Mesnabai. However this may be, we have the name of the Leleges as at Abu-Simbel (see my Paper on *The Karian Language and Inscriptions* in the *Transactions* of this Society, IX, 112, pl. I, i, 7). In that inscription the title L-ö-l-ë-gh-ä "Lelegian" is preceded by the title Na-ai-th-u-p-ö-n; here apparently we have either the same or an allied gentile name under the form of N-ë-p-u-gh, suggesting that the character which I have identified with *th* may really be a vowel or semi-vowel. The suggestion is confirmed by the word which follows both *Lölëghä* and *Nëpugh*, since the character in question was omitted by the writer in his first draft of the inscription, and a word *s-th-d-a* is unlikely. This word, by the way, shows that the letter *s* might have the two forms **M** and **W**'. We seem to have a word *s-a-r-d* in the Lausanne inscription (SAYCE, I, II, 4), though it is more probable that we should read *s a-r-a*.

III. This inscription was first noticed by M. Daressy, who published it in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, XVII, 3, 4, p. 120. As, however, some of the characters as there given are not quite correct, I republish it here from a revised copy of my own. The inscription runs round the base of a bronze figure of an ichneumon, now in the Cairo Museum, and is accompanied by the following hieroglyphic text:



"To the great god Atum, giver of life and health, Sharkeb-yam."

The determinative shows that *yam* is the Semitic *yām* "sea," and the name is evidently the Assyrian Sa-rākib-yāmu, "he who rides over the sea," a suitable title for one of those Karian pirates who infested the Delta in the Assyrian period. It would appear that the dedicatory had identified the Egyptian god Atum with the Sminthian Apollo.

It is unfortunate that the native name of the consecrator of the image is not given in the hieroglyphics. I read the Karian text: R-a-v-ai-l-ë-o-n Sh(?)-g-ai-s-n-re(?)-a-gh-ö ai-kh-n-o-i(?)-re(?)-ö-gh ä-u-vu-

gh. Ravaleon is similar to the Lydian name Pantaleon (Hdt., I, 92), and may be compounded with *ra* "son," though the identification of the *r* is not quite certain. Ravuss Deaveügh occurs at Abydos (SAYCE, IV, 24, 25). The termination of the next word is similar to that of Lölëghä, and may therefore denote a gentilic noun. It is just possible that the first character denotes a sibilant, since we find a somewhat similar name Ss-ai-gh-s-n-(s-o-s) at Abu-Simbel (SAYCE, I, 1). N-o-i-gh-ö also occurs at Abu-Simbel (SAYCE, I, 7), though it is doubtful whether the third sign is the letter *i* or a mark of division : at all events the separate word *kh-ö* is found in SAYCE, II, 4.

IV. This inscription is engraved on a bronze figure of the goddess Neith, which was found at Sa el-Hagar, the ancient Sais, and purchased by Daninos Pasha, who has published it in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XII, 3, 4 (1892), p. 214. I have given an account of it in the *Academy*, 1891, p. 461. The goddess is standing, and before her kneels her worshipper. Besides the Karian text there is a long hieroglyphic inscription, also published by Daninos Pasha, from which we learn that the offering was dedicated by Petenit Si-Karr ("Petenit the son of the Karian lady"), "born of the lady of the house, Qarit," in the time of Psammetichus I. The Karian text reads: Me-g-gh-ai-ss ä-th(?)-ai-v-ë-u-h-ë, where the name is doubtless the same as the Maghöss and Mäghöss of Abydos (SAYCE, IV, 2, 3), with which Imbert compares the Lycian Makhah and Greek Μάρχα. It is only through a comparison of such names that the values of the vowels can be approximately fixed. If the value *ö* is approximately correct, *ai* would be the "neutral" vowel which is so common in English.

V. This inscription was discovered at Mandelia, in Karia, and published by Hula and Szanto in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 132 (1894), p. 10. It is engraved upon a stone built into a wall. Unfortunately the commencement of the inscription is lost and probably the end of it also. It reads: . . g(?)-gh-vu ü-h(or t)-ë-v(?)-e(?)-g-ë-s-ë-a-ä-ö(?) s-a-w. The second word can hardly be correct; perhaps for *a* we should read *r*. The last word may be the *sava* or *savd* of II, 4, which I have compared with σοûα "a tomb."

VI. This is a *graffito* scratched on a vase in the Berlin Museum, and is published by Kretschmer in his "Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache," p. 380. It reads: Me-g-u-l-a, "of Megula," evidently the same name as Megula in *Abyd.*, IV, 5.

VII. This inscription is written on a potsherd discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie at Hû (the ancient Diospolis Parva) in Upper Egypt in 1899, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. He has published a copy of it in the *Special Extra Publication of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, Diospolis Parva* (1901), Pl. XLI, 26. As my copy differs from his in a few slight particulars, I give it here.

The inscription contains a new character, identical in form with the Cypriote *to*, to which therefore that value may be provisionally assigned. The writing is partly boustrophedon, as is shown by the position of the B. My reading of the text would be: (1) . . . *č-a* (2) *r-ä b-ä-v-l* (3) . . . *l-v a-b-ä* (4) . . . *w-a-b-i-l o-t-e-to* (5) *č-a ä-b-to-h-e d* . . . (6) . . . *d-v-u-h-e o(?)-ä-e ä-a(?) r(?)-a-u* . . . (7) . . . *a-ä*. In line 6 Professor Petrie's copy has *d* instead of *a* as the last letter but one. The gentilic adjective *äbto-he* in line 5 may be "the Abydian," from Abydos, Abdu in Egyptian. In line 2 *rä* seems to be *ra* "son." With the termination of BävI compare ThovI in the Zagazig inscription.

VIII and IX. Both these inscriptions, which are in the local variety of the Karian alphabet, were found on the site of the ancient Tralles, the modern Aidin. The first has been published in the Smyrniote periodical, the *Mentör*, III, p. 300 (1871), as well as in the *Homéros* for 1873, p. 537, from a copy made by M. Kontoleon. The second, of which the late M. Six possessed a cast, was published in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute for 1890 (XV, p. 337).

What we may call the Trallian variety of the Karian alphabet presents us with the new character ♡ the Lycian *ä*, which I will transcribe *ü*. In ¶ we may see the rare form of the Karian *ä*, to which I have already drawn attention in my paper on *The Karian Language* (*Tr. S.B.A.*, IX, p. 131). As, however, the distinctive ¶ does not occur in these Trallian inscriptions, it is more probable that ¶ is a special form of the latter character. In the second Trallian inscription the *a* also assumes a special form. In this inscription, moreover, we have the Lycian *ä* (Kalinka's *e*), which I have conjecturally given the value of *i*, and which in the Lycian form of the name Erbbina takes the place of the Karian *č*. In the Karian inscriptions previously published by me it is found only on a scaraboid (SAYCE, VI, 1), and at Abu-Simbel (I, 5) at the end of a name which is elsewhere written Meza-ai without it. Unless, therefore, it is the aspirate *h* (as in the Aramaic inscriptions of

Asia Minor) we may perhaps regard the writer of this particular Abu-Simbel *graffito* as coming from the neighbourhood of Tralles. It will be noticed that while the first inscription reads from left to right, the second runs from right to left.

In both inscriptions the word *m-a-u-w* occurs in a position which indicates that it must signify "tomb," "tombstone," or something similar. The epithet *Mavnawü-hě* on the Memphis stela (SAYCE, II, 1) may be a derivative from it, and the name of Maussólos, as well as of the tribe of the Maunnitæ at Olymos, may come from the same root. *Mawü* signified "land" in Lydian.

I read the first inscription: A-gh-s-ě Re(?)-ě-a-g-ä-n-ě m-a-u-w M-a-g-s-a-ü, "The tomb(?) of Axos Re-agenes, the son of Moxos." I read the third letter as *s* and not as *r-l*, as the combination *gh-v-l* is improbable. It must be admitted, however, that the *s* is differently formed in the third line. The second name seems to be a compound of the Greek *-γενης* with the name of a deity, perhaps Rhea. Magsäü must be the Greek Moxos (Lycian Makhzza); as the last character takes the place of the more usual *ü* of other inscriptions, it will have the value of *ü* or an allied sound.

The second inscription is: S-re(?)-u(?)-a-n-i(?) m-a-u-w a-v-ai-n-ogh-[h-ě], "The tomb(?) of Sreüan(?) the dragoman(?)" The last word is doubtful, as I do not know whether the break in the middle of it represents a flaw in the stone or the loss of two letters; if there is no break, the word will be the *avnokh-hě* "dragoman" of the bilingual inscription of Memphis (SAYCE, II, 3), with which the proper name Ävnos must be compared (SAYCE, IV, 16, 17). It will follow that the vowel which I have provisionally transcribed *ai* is really a short sound corresponding to the Hebrew *shewa*; this will explain its interchange with *ě* in No. 2. Compare also the forms M-ě-s-n-a-b-ai(ə) (I, 1), Me-s-n-b-ö (II, 4), M-ě-s-n-aw-ai (as we must read I, 7), and Me-s-w-a-w-wu (*Wadi Halfa*, I, 4, 5). In *Silsilis*, I, 1 (*P.S.B.A.*, XVII, pp. 40, 207), we have the genitive Me-s-n-a-w-ai-ü. Reading *Mesnawüü* we should have a form parallel to *Evavseü* and *Miguleü*.

The *Silsilis* inscription (*P.S.B.A.*, XVII, p. 207) is written in boustrophedon fashion, the *me* of the first line being further turned upside down and peculiar shapes given to the *s* and *n*. I read: . . l-ö-h(ort?)-a-re(?) ss-a Me-s-n-a-w-ai-ü ä-ö-ss-v-ö-s-ě th(?)-a-gh

* The name on the scaraboid seems to be the Ἰαλύξ of Halikarnassos.

ai-th(?)-d-ä ai-o-ss-v-gh . . For the beginning of the word ä-ö ss-v-ö-s-ě compare ä-ö-v-ai-ö(?)-dh-ü (*Memph.*, II, 2) and ä-ä-u-ö(?)-dh-e (*Abyd.*, IV, 26), as well as ö-a-ss-ä-ai-v-ě-ü (*Abyd.*, IV, 26).

An exact copy of the Kaunian (?) inscription from Krya or Kryassus has now been published by E. Kalinka in the *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, I, p. 24 (1901), from a squeeze taken by himself and R. Heberdey. It reads as follows :

1. th(?)-o-ko(?)-o-vu-u-s re(?)-ě-s-a
2. vu-gh ü-r-o-re(?)-u-l-v-ü
3. s-l-vü-gh o-ü-ö(?)-gh-o-v
4. gh o-v-ě l-a-vu-s

The divisions between the words are quite uncertain.

For the sake of reference I will add here a list of my previous Papers in the *Transactions* and *Proceedings* of this Society in which I have given copies of the Karian and Lydian inscriptions: *Transactions*, IX, 1 (1887), *Proceedings*, XVII, 1 (1895), XVII, 5, p. 207 (1895). These, together with the present Paper, contain all the texts that have been discovered up to the present time.

NOTE.

Since the above was printed, I see that in the second Tralles inscription the words, or word, preceding *mauw* are a repetition of those found in the first inscription, except that the word *agh*—which may mean “this (is),” or something similar—has been omitted. In the first inscription we have : a-gh s-e-re-e-a g-ä-n-e m-a-u-w, and in the second inscription : s-re (g)-a-n-i m-a-u-w. The character which I have written (g) must be the equivalent of *g*, and not a vowel, while the character which I represent by *i* will express a sound similar to that of *ě*. As a place called Sra(eu) seems to be mentioned in Abu-Simbel I, l. 5, we may perhaps translate the two inscriptions: (1) “This (is) the memorial of Seragenes, the son of Moxos”; (2) “The memorial of Seragenes the dragoman.”

No. V should be read the reverse way to that in which I have read it above ; the last word vu-gh occurs again in the Krya inscription, line 2, and probably in III, 2.

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十

ARKSPTIIR

$\gamma \wedge \square \vee \theta \vee \rho \oplus \Delta \times \nabla \times \Theta \vee \Psi \vdash W \oplus \Delta$

YHXP:YD<NDYD:QYALNMDCX:NOB797AB

\mathbb{R}^n \mathbb{C}^n \mathbb{H}^n \mathbb{O}^n \mathbb{K}^n \mathbb{L}^n \mathbb{M}^n \mathbb{N}^n \mathbb{P}^n \mathbb{Q}^n

$$\mathbb{I} \oplus \mathcal{M} \cap \nabla^2 \mathcal{Q} \oplus \mathcal{M} \oplus \mathcal{C} \mathbb{K} \mathbb{E} \oplus \mathcal{D} \times \mathcal{D} \cap \mathcal{M} \nabla^2 \mathcal{Q}$$

MAVRA

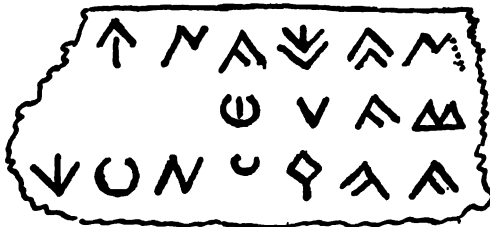
PLATE II.



VII

A V A A A A
E Q N E A V O
A A C X A O

VIII



IX

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GEBEL ABOU GORÂB.

BY G. LEGRAIN.

The Texts here published are, I believe, hitherto unedited. I copied them at the north of Shatt er Rigal (nine kilometres north of Gebel Silsilis), in the Gebel Abou Gorâb. The inscriptions A, C, D (*see* Plate) are very lightly engraved on the rocks, showing distinctly on the weather-stained stone.

The Inscriptions are difficult to read, and I do not pretend to have given a Text entirely free from error. I have, to the best of my ability, drawn what I have seen. One who is conversant with inscriptions of the sort would probably have made a better copy, and, I may add, a more extensive one, for there were several inscriptions I was obliged to leave uncopied.

The Inscription A comes from between the Khôr Daba and the Khôr el Ouaza. The mountain is very near the Nile, and its last spurs almost reach the river bank.

The drawing represents two ostriches pursued by a dog with a pointed muzzle, straight ears, and a cropped tail. It is apparently by the same hand that wrote the inscription above it.

The Inscriptions C and D come from the near neighbourhood of A, above described.

The Inscription B comes from further south, at the edge of the Khôr el Gorâb el Bahârl. It is well and deeply cut on the upper surface of a rock, almost on a level with the soil. I have made a cast of it, which is now in the Cairo Museum.¹

[NOTE.—Inscription B, it will be seen, is the Inscription II which I have given from Mr. Legrain's cast of it. (See page 124 *ante* and my Plate I.) A comparison of the cast and his copy will inspire confidence in their correctness. But I believe that I see on the left-hand side of the cast the remains of a name which Mr. Legrain has not noted in his copy, as well as a line of division before "*nefugh*."—A. H. SAYCE.]

¹ It will be found on the Upper floor, Room N, Case B.

THE MAGIC IVORIES OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.


By F. LEGGE.

Scattered throughout the different Egyptian museums of Europe, Africa, and America, are some fifty flat pieces of ivory, or wands, carved with figures of a very singular kind. They seem all, when complete, to have been of the same shape, and to have presented the curve of the pointed extremity of the natural tusk, so as to look something like an Australian boomerang. In many cases the tusk has been split longitudinally, to allow of more than one wand being made of it, and in this case the design generally appears on the convex side only. In those on which more care has been bestowed—such as for instance that shown in fig. 3—designs appear on both sides, which have been rubbed flat and polished for the purpose. The size does not greatly vary, being on the average about 12 inches by 2, and this would point to a very small animal if the ivory came from an elephant. As, moreover, elephant ivory was always valuable in Egypt, and the work on some of the wands here figured is too roughly and carelessly executed to imply an expensive material, it seems more likely that the ivory used was that of some indigenous animal, such as the hippopotamus. Only four of the wands bear designs in relief, those on all the others being incised with some pointed instrument. Most of them were acquired during the last century in the happy-go-lucky way of Egyptian exploration then current, and no record has been kept of their provenance; but in the very few cases where it has been possible to establish this decisively, they have all come from the neighbourhood of Thebes. It may be merely a coincidence, but most of the MS. collections of magical receipts in Demotic or Greek, generally known as magic papyri, seem to have been found in the same neighbourhood, and there is therefore some ground for believing that Thebes was in all ages the favourite hunting-ground of professional magicians, who made money by the exercise of “curious arts.” Seeing that the city was for long the seat of that priesthood who finally succeeded in acquiring supreme

power in Egypt, and that its lesser members must at different periods have found great difficulty in extorting a livelihood from the benefactions of the throne or from the devotion of their flocks, this seems probable enough. A like state of things probably accounts for the number of wandering "Chaldeans" or wizards who appeared in the West after the break-up of the priestly colleges on the Euphrates, and for the recrudescence of the practice of magic, witchcraft, and divination which followed close upon the heels of the Protestant Reformation.

Description of the Plates.

FIG. 1. (PLATE I.)

No very exact classification of these wands being possible, I propose to take first those which are either perfect or capable of being restored in such a way that the whole design originally carved upon them is apparent. First among these is this very typical one from the British Museum.¹ As will be seen, it bears a procession of figures, starting from the blunt end of the wand and going towards the point. The blunt end bears a lion's face, while the point is shaped into the mask of what seems to be a jackal. This seems to have some ritual or conventional significance, and, as will be seen later, great care was taken in most cases to ensure the extremities of the wand terminating with these emblems. The first place in the procession is taken by a square frame, like that appearing in , the well-known ideograph of *Hat-hor*, or "the house of Horus," with the exception that the artist has, perhaps from carelessness, transformed the small square generally to be found in the corner of the frame into a triangle. The frame, or plan proper, is occupied by the head of an animal which I think must be taken for a cow.² Perhaps the whole group is intended to read

¹ This, with the small fragment, afterwards called Fig. 37, has already appeared in the *Proceedings* (XXII, p. 139, Pl. VIII), while Fig. 3 (*post*) appeared in Vol. X, p. 570, in a communication from the former Secretary and present Vice-President of the Society, Mr. Rylands. I have thought it best to reproduce all these here, for the purpose of comparison.

² Because of its upright horns. The ram's head, as it appears, for instance, in Fig. 3, has generally horns projecting horizontally.

the "House of the Cow," to which, in the cosmogonic myth of the Destruction of Mankind, the god Ra retires just before sun-rise.³ As this was the name of the Libyan nome, which was the westernmost of all the nomes in the Delta, it may possibly here mean the West generally. Or if we take the cow as the emblem of Hathor, we should remember that the Golden Hathor was "the goddess of the western sky, which received the dying sun in the glow of sunset,"⁴ which amounts to pretty much the same thing. Following this figure comes a frog armed with a knife and seated on a *neb* or basket. There can be little doubt that this symbolises the very ancient goddess Heqet, the goddess who typified birth, or, as was said in Christian times, resurrection.⁵ Behind her comes a figure to be met with in all these wands, being the female hippopotamus, upright on her hind-legs, who is generally called Ta-ûrt or Thuêris, "the great one." She, too, was the guardian of the Mountain of the West,⁶ but, for reasons that will afterwards appear, I think it probable that she must here be regarded as identified with Isis, the mistress of all magical arts. Following her comes the monstrous figure of a leopard with a bird's head, and bearing on his back a human head between two outstretched wings, which appear to be fastened to the hands belonging to it. I shall return to the symbolism of this later, and will merely say here that for the purposes of identification I shall hereafter refer to it as the Chimaera, from its likeness to the monster of that name slain by the ancient Greek hero Bellerophon. Then comes the figure consisting of the foreparts of two bulls or oxen joined together at the middle of the body, which we have already seen on the most elaborate of the carved slates of the early dynasties.⁷ The same symbol appears as an ideograph in the "Pyramid Texts," where M. Maspero translates it "les deux battants de la porte du ciel."⁸ I have no doubt that it has the same meaning here, and it is significant that it is followed by the huge snake who is represented as coming forth from

³ Naville, *Trans. S.B.A.*, IV, p. 10; Maspero, *Les Origines*, pp. 102, *sqq.*

⁴ Wiedemann, *Egyptian Religion*, pp. 29, 30.

⁵ Lanzzone, *Dizionario*, p. 853.



⁶ Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 169.



⁷ *P.S.B.A.*, XXII, p. 131, and Pl. II. As it there has what appears to be a house near it, it is possible that this may be "the house of Hades," towards which the tribes symbolised by different animals there shown are being driven.

⁸ *Unas*, l. 527.

the gate of heaven immediately before sun-rise.⁹ The double bull also bears a knife, turned, not like the others, towards the West, but towards the East.

FIG. 2. (PLATE II.)

Also in our National Collection, is singular in being up to the present the only entire one carved in relief. On the obverse we find the procession headed this time by the hippopotamus-goddess, bearing in her hand something which is probably the ideogram  *sa*, the sign of magical protection. Following her is something which looks like the uraeus, or coiled cobra, and then a pair of human legs, which we may suppose, on the analogy of the other wands, to have been surmounted by a sun disk. Then comes a god whom it is impossible to identify, bearing the  *ānkh* and a sceptre, probably the *uas*. Then the frog, seated on the basket as before, and then a ram-headed god, full-face, and with the *uas* sceptre. I see no means of identifying this god, the pose not being very Egyptian,¹⁰ and the occurrence of ram-headed gods without head-dresses being by no means common. Following this comes a figure which we may be sure is Bes, represented as usual, full-faced, with a snake which he is strangling in each hand, the remains of the bushy wig and the tailed skin garment behind him being just visible. Then comes a cynocephalus baboon adoring a *utchat*, which is easily explained when we remember that this animal was supposed by the Egyptians to greet the rising and setting sun. The procession closes with what seems to be the head of a crocodile seated on a stand protruding above the forepart of a serpent, drawn with more attention to nature than some of the other figures. On the reverse the procession begins with a figure which may be the hippopotamus goddess, though here the head looks more like that of a cat. Then comes a lion

⁹ This snake, called  *Sa-ta* (son of earth), is, according to Renouf, *Book of Dead*, I, p. 157, an emblem of the rising sun. Or we may here have to do with  *Ānkh-neteru*, the mysterious serpent through whose body the sun passed during the 12th hour of the night. See Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, t. ii, p. 141.

¹⁰ As is well known, Bes is the only Egyptian god who is not represented in profile.




passant, whom we may take to be the lion-god Aker    "who was supposed to guard the gate of the dawn through which the sun passed every morning."¹¹ Above this is a serpent in waves rather than coils, who may possibly be the *Ami-Hemf* or "Dweller in his Flame" mentioned in the *Book of the Dead* (Chap. CVIII) as being on the top of the Mountain of Sunrise. These are followed by the unusual figure of a cat seated on a *neb*-basket,¹² then by the ram-headed god, this time in profile, and this last by a scarabæus displayed in an enclosure formed by two vertical lines. The procession concludes with two interlaced snakes¹³ extended above a panther, advancing stealthily with outstretched head. This last has had its tail shortened, no doubt by the necessity of getting in to the centre of the little panel in which it is placed. Altogether the designs on this wand are drawn with a very un-Egyptian¹⁴ freedom of touch and absence of convention, and it is a great pity that it is worn so smooth that the figures are more or less obliterated.

FIG. 3. (PLATE III.)


Also in the British Museum, and said (*P.S.B.A.*, X, p. 570) to have come from Thebes. On the obverse the procession opens with a lion *couchant* above a well-drawn uræus, in front of which is a knife. Then comes the hippopotamus-goddess armed with a knife, and having in front of her the *sa*. Then follows a lion *passant*, walking upon four posts, all terminating with the head of the *Set*-animal and with knives at their bases. Then comes the frog on the basket, and above it a large snake, which is at least not a uræus. This is followed by the feline with a snake's neck, which

¹¹ Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 360.

¹² The Metternich Stele shows a cat *sejant* on a pylon, but I have not myself seen another representation of a cat on the *neb*.

¹³ Are these snakes the twin *uraei* coiled at the prow of the Sun-bark, and representing Isis and Nephthys? cf. Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, t. ii, p. 4. Or the interlaced snakes supporting the sun-disk in Lefébure, *Tombeau de Seti I*, Pl. XIX.

¹⁴ The absence of any head dress from the different deities is remarkable, and the heads are in proportion to their bodies too large for the Egyptian canon of proportion. The whole effect is like that of the carved slate which the British Museum and the Louvre share between them, and which forms Pl. II of the paper in *P.S.B.A.*, XXII, quoted above.

we have already seen on the great carved slates of Hieraconpolis,¹⁵ while the centre of the wand is occupied by a double sphinx formed of two human-headed lions, joined together in the middle after the fashion of the double bull mentioned above. Each head of the sphinx has a knife in front of it. In the "Hymn of the Praises of Rā," translated by Dr. Naville thirty years ago as "La Litanie du Soleil,"¹⁶ it is said (l. 75): "Thou art the double sphinx-god," and it is therefore possible that this emblem may be intended for Rā. But below it appears the scarabaeus, and this gives it a greater likeness to the representation of "the land of Seker" as it appears in the *Book of the Underworld*, where it is represented as an enclosure having the forepart of a man-headed sphinx at each end.¹⁷ On this follows a term or post surmounted with the jackal head of Anubis,¹⁸ then the god Bes, serpents in hand, and then the sun-disk shedding rays. After these comes the head of a ram, bearing on his head the *atef* crown with two plumes, generally given to Osiris. As Osiris is never, so far as I know, represented with a ram's head, it is probable that we here have to do with the  *Afou*, or corpse of the Sun, which, having died, has become an Osiris.¹⁹ Behind this is seated a snake-headed human figure holding a snake in either hand. It seems possible that this may be an emblem of the great snake who surrounds "the flesh of Rā" in his cabin during his passage through the Underworld and "the land of Seker;" but, in the absence of more characteristics, it is impossible to identify him with any certainty. The procession closes with another lion and uraeus, in all respects answering to the pair with which it opened, except that they are turned the contrary way to all the other

¹⁵ Pls. I and III of last quoted paper.

¹⁶ Or see Budge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 348.

¹⁷ Budge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122. The whole representation is given in Jequier, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*, p. 73. Cf. what M. Maspero says in *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes, Ét. de Myth.*, t. II, p. 87, that in this land "le dieu [Rā] rencontrait le scarabée Khopri et l'emmenait avec lui." The double andro-sphinx also appears on the tomb of Rameses IX (*Ann. du Musée Guimet*, Vol. XVI, Pl. 6). Cf. Pl. XL of same volume, where it appears with the sun-bark passing over it.

¹⁸ A curious instance of this Anubis term appears in Lefébure's *Hypogées Royaux*, 11^e Div., Pl. 30, where prisoners are shown bound to the post, towards which the solar bark is advancing.

¹⁹ Cf. Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, t. ii, p. 38.

figures. Besides the figures above described, there are two objects which I can only compare to the masks of crocodiles, of which one occupies the exact centre of the design under the double sphinx, while the other is to be found behind the guardian lion who opens the procession. In the same position with regard to the lion at its close is placed, not the crocodile's head, but a knife. On the reverse of this very interesting wand the procession begins with the *utchat* or eye of Horus, under which is seen as before the uraeus with a knife. Then follows the hippopotamus-goddess, with the same equipment as on the obverse. Then comes the rayed sun-disk above a hawk grasping a knife, who can hardly be anyone but the so-called hawk Horus; then a crocodile with his tail curved under him²⁰ above a uraeus and a cresset in the usual form. Following this is the Anubis term with its knife, and then the upright figure of an animal, which I believe to be a cat, nearly effaced by a break. Behind this, occupying nearly the centre of the design, is a goddess with *ankh* and sceptre, while between her and the cat the following inscription has been engraved, evidently after the design was completed:—



"Said for the protection of the lady of the house Seneb."

The features of the goddess are erased, and she wears no head-dress or ornament by which she can be identified. Behind her is to be found another rayed sun-disk, the chimaera, a knife surmounted by a cresset, the god Bes, and the hippopotamus-goddess, while the procession ends with the lion and uraeus group turned about as on the obverse.

FIG. 4. (PLATE IV.)

This, which comes from the Royal Museum at Berlin, is one of the largest and most instructive of these wands.²¹ On the obverse we see between the lion's face and jackal's mask the usual procession, beginning this time with a well-drawn leopard. Then comes the cynocephalus adoring the *utchat*, below which is a snake. Then

²⁰ This crocodile with a curved tail was one of the constellations in the Northern sky. See Lefébure, *Tombeau de Séti I*, Pl. XXXVI.

²¹ This, too, has appeared in Erman's *Die Agyptische Religion*, p. 130, Fig. 38.

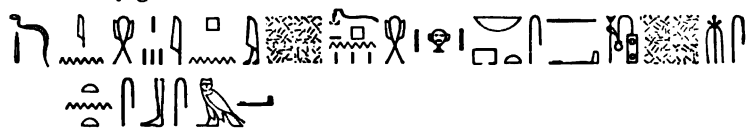
follows the Set animal²² with a knife, above whom are two more snakes. The centre of the design is filled with a uraeus armed with a knife and seated upon a *neb*-basket, upon which also—forced into it apparently by want of space—is the Anubis term. Then comes the following inscription in three vertical columns:—



“These protectors say: We come, we afford protection to the lady of the house, Snaa-ab, daughter of Senb-se-ma, devoted to her lord.”

Following upon the inscription comes the hippopotamus-goddess, with knife and *sa* sign; then a lion *passant* treading upon an upright snake, with another extended over him; then the kneeling figure of Anubis, holding in his left hand a sceptre and a snake, and with the other brandishing a short rod or club above his head; then a lion-headed goddess sitting crowned with an eye and having the *utchat* on her knees, who may possibly be the *Utchat-Sekhet-urt-Hent-nteru* of the 164th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*; ²³ and then the *Tit* pillar and a cresset, which closes the procession.

On the reverse, beginning at the blunt end, we have first a cat armed with a knife and *sa* sign, then a griffin or hawk-headed lion *sejant* treading on a snake, and then the crocodile with incurved tail, in the fold of which are three human heads. The animals in this panel are turned towards the centre of the design, so as to face an inscription in three vertical lines, as before, nearly identical with that already given:—



[Probably] “These protectors say: We come, we afford protection to Snaa-ab, daughter of the lady of the house Senb-se-ma.”

²² The long legs and weazel-like body here given to it make this animal more mysterious than ever. It is certainly not here intended for the oryx, ass, okapi, or jerboa.

²³ It should be noted that in the *Pyramid Texts* (Unas, l. 70), Anubis is mentioned in what seems to be a kind of Chapter of the Eye of Horus, and it is probable therefore that all the figures from the inscription to the cresset are connected.

On the other side of the inscription is the god Bes strangling snakes, side by side with another full-faced figure, unfortunately almost entirely erased, who seems to be holding in his hands two small animals, which seem to resemble the hare (?) in the right hand of the Horus of the Metternich stele. Then follows the inscription:—



“Saith the fighter: I come, I afford protection to Snaa-ab, daughter of Senb-se-ma repeating life.”

The centre panel is entirely occupied by the chimaera, followed by the Anubis term and turned towards Bes, and then comes the last inscription:—



“The many protectors say: We come, we afford protection to Snaa-ab, daughter of the lady of the house Senb-se-ma, repeating life.”

The remaining panel is occupied by a snake upright, a human head followed by a cat armed with a knife and walking on her hind legs, the knife-armed frog on its *neb*, another Anubis term, this time without a knife, a cresset, and a large snake in waves.

FIG. 5. (PLATE I.)

This, which is also from Berlin, is of very poor execution compared with that just described, the figures being merely scratched in. But it is notable from having, in addition to the lion's face and jackal's mask, its pointed extremity curved into the head of an animal with pointed muzzle and staring eyes, of which we shall see better examples later. The figures, taking them from the end to which they are proceeding, are: the knife-armed, snake-necked

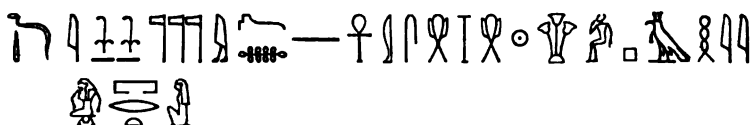
leopard, the hippopotamus-goddess, another animal too much erased to be distinguished, the Anubis term, the crocodile with incurved tail, the god Bes, and the chimaera, this last being turned about so as to face the lion's mask.

FIG. 6. (PLATE V.)

This is from the Cairo Museum, and my information concerning it is derived from M. Daressy's volume in the General Catalogue of the Museum, intitled "Textes et Dessins Magiques." The pointed end only bears a mask, which M. Daressy thinks is that of a lion. Then comes the Anubis term with knife, a sun-disk on two legs, one of which holds a knife, the god Bes, the *sa* sign, a seated cat, a snake, the chimaera figure, and the crocodile with incurved tail, having two human heads below it. The only new feature about this is the sun-disk, which for the first time is here represented as walking.

FIG. 7. (PLATE V.)

Also from Cairo, and described in M. Daressy's Catalogue as found at Gournah. It has the usual mask of a long-eared animal at the pointed end, and probably the lion's mask at the other, although this last is too much mutilated for the design to be seen. The procession consists of the panther, the double bull, a cynocephalus walking, a lion whom M. Daressy thinks is devouring some animal,²⁴ and the double sphinx with, at any rate, one knife. The design is here also extremely poor and scratchily executed. On the back is the inscription—



"These gods say: We come as a protection and life every day around Pnehî, born of the lady of the house"

²⁴ This seems to be a mistake, the lion's shoulder being too upright for his head to be sunk as it would be in the act of eating. The lines which he takes for the outline of an animal seem to me to be accidental injuries.

FIG. 8. (PLATE VI.)

This, which is now in the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre, is remarkable for the care and skill with which the design is executed. Unfortunately only a small fragment of it remains, which shows the sun-disk walking above what appears to be a heap of dismembered human legs. Then comes the god Bes, and then a group consisting of the hippopotamus-goddess bearing a crocodile on her back breathing into the mouth of a kneeling prisoner, who has his hands tied behind him and wears the peculiar flat cap, resembling the Carlist or Basque *boina* in form, which in Nos. 43 and 45 of Prof. Petrie's *Ethnographical Casts from Karnak* in the British Museum distinguishes those whom he calls the Shasu or Arabs. The group at first reminds one of the story on the Metternich Stele, where it is said that when Horus was stung by a scorpion, "Isis placed her nose in his mouth to learn if there was any breath in him."²⁵ That the hippopotamus-goddess is here Reret, one of the forms of Isis, is plain from a comparison of the figure here given with the hippopotamus bearing a crocodile on her back depicted on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, of which M. Maspero says: "c'était Isis tenant Typhon enchaîné pour l'empêcher de nuire à Sahou-Osiris."²⁶ But her prisoner can hardly be Horus, and we can therefore only suppose that she is here about to devour some Typhonian person. Behind her comes the snake-necked leopard of the carved slates, and above this is seen the corner of a square frame or plan, such as forms part of the symbol of Hathor.

FIG. 9. (PLATE VI.)

This, which forms the *reverse* of Fig. 8, shows two dog-headed deities, perhaps Anubis and Apuat, having the *utchat* between them and wings instead of hands, which meet upon the top of a large *sa* sign. The inscription which follows is—



"I am the possessor of the eye, and I come as a protection for," the name being unfortunately missing.

²⁵ See Budge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 210.

²⁶ Maspero, *Les Origines*, p. 94, n. 4; *L'Égypte, Tombeau de Siti I*, Pl. XXXVI.

FIG. 10. (PLATE VII.)





This, which is in the Cairo Museum, is important, as showing the means taken to give to the pointed end of the wand the appearance of a jackal's head when that emblem did not form part of the design. Here the end of the ivory has been sharpened and inserted into a jackal's mask carved in acacia wood and, as M. Daressy states, "*finement travaillé.*" The figures consist of a snake, a frog armed with a knife, the signs  and the chimaera. Facing these is the hippopotamus-goddess holding a snake, which she gnaws; a serpent upright on his tail; a bull-headed god holding the *ankh* and *was* sceptre; the signs   ; the figure of a hairy animal with a lion's head, holding and biting a snake—M. Daressy thinks this also is the hippopotamus-goddess,—then two snakes interlaced, the god Bes, and the hind-part of some quadruped with a very long curled tail, probably a cynocephalus.

FIG. 11. (PLATE VII.)

In this, which comes from Berlin, double pains have been taken with regard to the point, which here has a (presumably) wooden attachment in the usual shape, as well as the jackal's mask engraved directly behind it. The figures comprise the frog with knife and on








the *neb*, the signs  , a leopard *passant* with knife, a great snake  in waves, the god Bes, holding this time not snakes but lizards or perhaps crocodiles, the signs     and the chimaera, while the remains of a snake, which appears to be grasped by the middle by some god or animal, appears just before the break.

FIG. 12. (PLATE VIII.)

Also from Berlin; shows merely the attached jackal's head together with the sun-disk walking and the fragment of another figure.

FIG. 13. (PLATE VIII.)

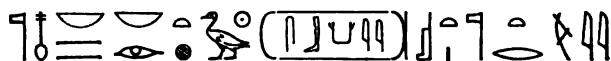
From the Cairo Museum ; found at Licht. The point itself has been carved into what M. Daressy thinks is the face of a lion. Some part of the wand is missing, but the figure of the hippopotamus-goddess follows the carved head. Then after the break appears the tail of some animal ; the chimaera, this time with two heads detached from but above it ; the god Bes ; two interlaced snakes ; the head of a jackal walking, biting a snake and holding a knife ; while the end bears a design which M. Daressy calls a lotus flower. At the back is the inscription :—



"These [gods] say we afford protection to the royal daughter Ptahneferu."

FIG. 14. (PLATE IX.)

From Cairo. Found at Abydos, and described by M. Daressy as of ebony. The head is carved into the likeness of the jackal's mask, while immediately afterwards comes this inscription, partly in relief :—






"Fair God, lord of the two lands, doer of sacrifices, son of the Sun, Seb-kai, beloved of the goddess Isis."

Then comes the hippopotamus-goddess with knife, a snake upright upon its tail, an indistinct object which M. Daressy thinks may be the buckle amulet, the god Bes, a seated lion with knife, another seated animal, another hippopotamus (?), and a jackal's head. No king of the name of Seb-kai has been known hitherto, and the work is extremely poor for it to have come from any royal equipage.

FIG. 15. (PLATE IX.)

From the Louvre. Is singular in having the pointed end terminating not in the usual mask but in a sort of floral design, which may possibly have been intended for insertion into an attachment

like that shown in Figs. 10 and 11. Proceeding from this end are the two interlaced snakes and one outstretched one, then a tortoise, a scarabaeus displayed, the signs  *sa* and  *ānkh*, a large winged uraeus erect to strike, which may possibly be intended for the goddess Uatchet, a form of Isis, the sign , the Anubis term, the god Bes, the inscription :—



“Protection and life are around her every day,”

and the hippopotamus-goddess, after which the wand is mutilated.

FIG. 16. (PLATE IX.)

From Cairo. Found in the tomb of Neferhotep at Drah Abu'l Neggah. M. Daressy thinks he can discover the remains of the jackal's mask at the point, after which comes the *utchat*, a cynocephalus *passant*, a snake, the sun-disk walking, a bull-headed god holding the *ānkh* and *uas* sceptre, the hippopotamus-goddess with knife and *sa*, a lioness upright gnawing a snake, the chimaera, the Anubis term, and a tortoise.

FIG. 17. (PLATE X.)

From the Collection of Prof. Petrie. Introduces us to several new figures. Next to the jackal's mask at the pointed end comes the double andro-sphinx, this time crowned with horns and solar disks and bearing knives. Then follows a ram *couchant* on a *neb*, with a scourge in his off fore-foot.²⁷ The group presents some striking analogies with the “Lamb and Flag” emblem of the Templars, which may well be a revival of it. Then, after the break, comes the head of the chimaera followed by a vulture, also on a *neb*, in the form

²⁷ Probably, from the solar disk given in Fig. 18, a form of Rā. Cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 342. The pose of the animal is the same as that in the colossal “lamb” now in the Palace at Khartum (*vide* John Ward, *Our Sudan*, p. 132), and said to have been brought thither by Gordon from Soba. The diapering of body (to represent wool?) is also the same in the two cases.

of the usual representation of the goddess Nekhebit where she forms part of the *nebti* in the royal protocol. This is followed by the hippopotamus-goddess with the knife, but without the *sa*, and facing her is the knife-armed frog, not on a *neb* as usual, but on the perch. These figures are better executed than the average, and the two fragments here given evidently once formed part of a long wand, the loss of which is much to be regretted.

FIG. 18. (PLATE X.)

Also from the Petrie Collection. Shows the remains of the lion's face which once formed the blunt end of the wand. Approaching it are the hippopotamus-goddess gnawing a snake, the Lamb and Flag group as in the last wand, but with the solar disk between the horns of the animal, the god Bes, and the chimaera, above which a large snake with open mouth is extended.

FIG. 19. (PLATE XI.)

Also from the Petrie Collection. Introduces us to some divinities not to be found on the other wands. Towards the lion's face are marching the hippopotamus-goddess with knife, followed by a god grasping what appears to be a snake. The god is in human form, with the head of some animal, which the break that here occurs prevents us from recognising. Then, after the break, comes a lion-headed goddess holding the papyrus sceptre in one hand and in the other a staff with a ring at the top, which is possibly the *ankh*. This goddess is probab'y Pasht or Sekhet, and is followed by one who is clearly Set and bears the same emblem. Then comes a hawk-headed god with the *was* sceptre, and then the remains of a huge coiled and winged uraeus with human head, who is probably intended for Uatchet or some other form of Isis.

FIG. 20. (PLATE XI.)

Also from the Petrie Collection. The leading figure in the procession is probably the upright lioness grasping a snake, and is followed by a cat walking on her hind legs and holding a knife in her right and a snake in her left paw. These are followed by the chimaera and a vulture, this time on a perch, and armed with a knife.

FIG. 21. (PLATE XII.)

From Berlin. Following the hippopotamus-goddess comes the jackal's head on two legs; then the lion on his hind legs, biting a snake, which he holds in his forepaws; then the cat in the act of springing; and then turned about the lamb and flag, the lamb being here armed with a knife, and seated on a basket of square or cylindrical shape instead of the usual spherical one. In front of it is to be seen the rear half of the chimaera.

FIG. 22. (PLATE VIII.)

From the Louvre. After the hippopotamus-goddess, armed with a knife and grasping a snake, comes the interlaced snakes extended above the chimaera. Following them, the upright lion, knife-armed and biting a snake, and then what appears to be a very large knife.

FIG. 23. (PLATE XIV.)

From the Collection of Lady William Cecil. Found at Aswân. The procession begins with the god Bes; then comes a lion *sejant* armed with a knife; then the hippopotamus-goddess, with a knife in one forepaw and the *ānkh* instead of the *sa* sign in the other. These are followed by the chimaera, perhaps with a panther's rather than a bird's head; then the sun-disk on two legs with an *ānkh*, and then two seated gods with the *ānkh* on their knees, but with heads unfortunately too mutilated for recognition. The treatment here differs considerably from that adopted in most of the preceding wands, and the repetition of the *ānkh*-sign throughout is noteworthy.

FIG. 24. (PLATE XIV.)

From the Collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price. The design is nearly effaced, but the procession seems to open with some quadruped. Then comes the god Bes, and then the snake-necked leopard, above which is extended a snake. Then follows the lion on his hind-legs, with the *ānkh* in one paw; then the hippopotamus-goddess with knife and *ānkh*, while the two interlaced snakes and the chimaera close the procession.

FIG. 25. (PLATE XIV.)

Also from Mr. Hilton Price's Collection. From the similarity of style it no doubt once formed part of Fig. 24. From the pointed end proceeds a crocodile, apparently *couchant* upon a platform, having underneath it a snake in waves; then the frog on *neb*, and the hippopotamus-goddess with knife and *sa*. She is preceded by the upright lion, in front of which comes the snake-necked leopard with a knife and having a snake in waves outstretched above him.

FIG. 26. (PLATE XIII.)

From Prof. Petrie's Collection. From the jackal's mask proceeds a lion *passant*, having the remains of a knife under his near forepaw just visible, while above him are stretched the two interlaced snakes. After the first break comes the frog, knife-armed, and seated on perch, while above it can be seen the tail end of a snake. Before it goes the snake-eating lion on hind-legs, while the remains of the tail of the chimaera are just indicated. After the next break appears the chimaera's head above the greater part of a knife, and then a curious figure, which appears to be the mummy of a cat, with a knife at its base.

FIG. 27. (PLATE XII.)

In the British Museum. Proceeding towards the lion's face, carved like the rest of the fragment in bold relief, are two gods bearing sceptres. The first is horned, with inlaid eyes, the sceptre appearing to have the head of a hammer. His companion is without horns and bears the *uas*. The arms in both cases are too long to be in drawing, and the treatment does not seem to observe any of the usual conventions. The two figures appear to be walking on the body of a huge snake, while another is stretched above them in a way that reminds one of some of the vignettes of the *Book of the Underworld*.

FIG. 28. (PLATE XIV.)

This little piece, also in relief, is from the Cairo Museum, and differs entirely in treatment from any of the other wands in the same

collection. I give M. Daressy's description from the Catalogue Général *verbatim* :—


- I. *Registre supérieur.* 1°. Cynocéphale assis, tenant un couteau.
 2°. Déesse à tête de lionne accroupie, ayant un couteau posé sur les genoux.
 3°. Lion marchant, la queue relevée au-dessus du corps.
 II. *Registre inférieur.* 1°. Grenouille (?) dont la tête manque ; un fouet est fixé sur son dos.
 2°. Lion assis, tenant un couteau.
 3°. Grenouille, tenant un couteau.
 4°. Lion assis.


Travail rude. Le corps de cynocéphale est ponctué, le dos des grenouille quadrillé, pas d'autres détails. Le bord inférieur manque.

FIG. 29. (PLATE XVII.)

Also in the Cairo Museum. It is with great difficulty that any of the figures can be traced, but M. Daressy says that they are as follows :—

On the pointed part :—

"1°. Le signe , avec un couteau dressé au pied du poteau.

"2°. Thouéris hippopotame appuyée sur  et tenant un couteau."

On the blunt part :—

"1°. Le dos d'une divinité qui devait être la Thouéris à corps de lion.

"2°. Un bœuf momifié, le corps enveloppé dans une étoffe quadrillée. Entre ses cornes est placé une disque, sur son dos est fixé un fouet, et entre ses pattes un couteau.

"3°. Serpent ondulé."

FIG. 30. (PLATE VIII.)

From the Collection of the Secretary of this Society, Mr. W. L. Nash. It shows the hippopotamus-goddess holding a knife and snake, which last she gnaws. Behind comes the Anubis term, also

biting a snake, and with the unusual addition of what appears to be a pair of folded wings or plumes on each side of the post.

FIG. 31. (PLATE XII.)

From Prof. Petrie's Collection, is remarkable as showing the lion-necked leopard biting a snake, which is, I think, the only instance in which this monster is depicted as a carnivorous animal.

FIG. 32. (PLATE XIII.)

From Berlin. A variant of the usual sun-disk on two legs, showing the uraeus combined with the other emblem.

(PLATES XV TO XVII.)

Figs. 33 to 37 (British Museum), 38 to 41 (Berlin Museum), and 42 to 44 (Prof. Petrie's Collection), seem to call for no further remark, all the figures upon them having already occurred on the wands described above. But attention must be drawn to the truth and beauty of the work put into the figures on the small fragment from Berlin, forming two sides of the same wand, which is here numbered 38 and 39. Could the missing part of this object be discovered it could hardly fail to be of the greatest use to us in settling the type of the various animals conventionally figured on these wands.

The Meaning of the Figures.

What scene is it that is intended to be depicted by the procession which, as we have seen, fills all these wands? I think there can be little doubt that it is the march of the sun either across the sky or through the Underworld, here typified by the passage from the lion's face to the jackal's mask. The constant recurrence of the solar emblem, whether in the shape of the disk rayed or mounted upon human legs, the scarabaeus, the *utchat*, and the cressets or lights are almost sufficient proof of this, but in addition it may be pointed out that nearly all the remaining figures are of animals connected with the solar legends. The figures of Bes and of the frog Heqet are to be found in the "Birth chamber" of all Egyptian temples, wherein was depicted the birth of one or other form of the sun-god, and

they appear in like manner at scenes like those at Deir el-Bahari, wherein is shown the birth of the Pharaoh who was the sun-god's representative on earth. The same remarks apply to the hippopotamus-goddess, who is to be found on all these wands, and who is also represented in the *Book of the Dead* as watching at the foot of the Mountain of Sunset.²⁸ But the hippopotamus with the crocodile on her back, as shown in Fig. 8, is best known to us as a constellation figure, in which capacity she figures, as has been said, on the ceiling of the Ramesseum.²⁹ Among the constellations in the same picture is the solar lion *couchant*, and this alone might serve to tell us that the scenes in which these two animals appear must be supposed to be taking place in the sky, without reference to the fact that the lion, in the words of Dr. Budge, was "usually associated with the sun-god Horus or Rā, and with deities of a solar character."³⁰ The hawk of Horus is also shown here (Fig. 3) in a context which leaves no doubt as to the solar capacity in which he appears, and the same may be said of the ram-headed deity who appears on the same wand. The cat is one of the favourite forms of the sun-god Rā, while the griffin is always a solar attendant, and the part played by the cynocephalus baboon with regard to the sun has been already mentioned. Of the vulture, who here appears sometimes on a *neb* and sometimes on a perch, it is difficult to say as much; yet the emblem of maternity is a likely figure to be introduced in any scene connected with the daily birth of the sun-god, and if Dr. Naville³¹ is right in saying that Meskenet, the goddess of birth, is "another form of Heqet and Nekhebit," the frog and vulture goddesses respectively, her presence here is explained. As to the jackals, whether Anubis or Apuat, they appear as the "openers of the way" to the sun-god in all the texts, and there is therefore no need to dwell upon them further. The Anubis term appears in the same capacity in the *Book of the Gates* (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 97). The crocodiles, tortoises,³² and such of the snakes as are neither uraei nor the forerunners of the Sun,

²⁸ Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, t. i, p. 334.

²⁹ See Maspero, *Les Origines*, p. 92; or Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, p. 313, for a representation of this.

³⁰ Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

³¹ *Deir el Bahari*, II, p. 17.

³² The tortoise is also a constellation figure, *vide* Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, t. ii, p. 136, and Brugsch, *Astron. Insch.*, t. i, p. 113.

are probably introduced here, like the Set-animal, as his enemies, whom those in his *cortège* take pleasure in slaughtering. The appearance of the human heads within, as it were, the folds of the great crocodile with the curved tail, *may* be intended also to show that he is hostile to man.

This, I think, accounts for all the figures on these wands with the exception of the two monsters whom I have called the snake-necked leopard and the chimaera respectively. I have before suggested (*P.S.B.A.* XXII, p. 138) that the two snake-necked leopards on the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis are there shown as watching or guarding the sun disk, and I am still of the same opinion. But I have lately become doubtful whether both this and the chimaera figure are not distorted representations of actual beasts with which the Egyptians had ceased to be familiar. The giraffe was not a native of Egypt, and has always been the subject of extraordinary legends, such as that retailed by Sir John Mandeville, who says that its legs on one side being shorter than those on the other, it can only live on the side of a conical hill. Moreover, although even the primitive Egyptians could draw it well enough when they chose (witness *P.S.B.A.* XXII, Pl. VI, and p. 270), by the time of Queen Hatshepsut it was a curiosity worthy of being brought from the land of Punt, and it would be quite possible for an accurate and a fanciful representation of the animal to exist side by side without being recognised as identical. The spotted body of the animal has always led the unscientific to remark upon its likeness to the Felidae, and the English name of "cameleopard," although only a punning translation of the Greek *καμηλοπάρδαλις*, still preserves the memory of the popular fallacy on the subject. In like manner it seems to me that the chimaera may well have been the portrait by the aborigines of the Delta of a horseman as first seen by them, who would be thought to combine with a human head on his back and the legs of a feline quadruped the swiftness of a bird and the rapacity of a hawk. Whether this be so or not, it may be noted that nearly all nations of the ancient world, including the Greeks in Mycenaean times, and the Babylonians, made use of such composite figures to denote those dreaded beings who were neither god nor man, but occupied a shadowy position between the two. The natural place for such demons—using the word in its Greek rather than its English sense—was the desert that lay beyond the inhabited world, where, according

to one theory of the Egyptian universe, the sun used to wander during the hours of darkness. It is therefore natural enough that we should find them here together with the other solar animals. The resemblance between the scenes shown on the wand called Fig. 3 and what is said in the *Book of the Underworld* about the fifth hour of the night or the "Land of Seker," is very marked, and it may be that this wand was in some way connected with the worship of that god.

The Use of the Wands.

The inscriptions given above can, I think, leave no doubt in the mind of anyone that the wands were made for the purpose of magical protection, or, to use a technical word, as phylacteries. I venture to think further that these phylacteries were all intended for a specific purpose, which was to protect the owner from the bites of snakes.³³ Not only was Bes looked upon, as Prof. Wiedemann notes,³⁴ as the especial "foe of serpents," whom he is here always depicted as strangling with his hands, but all the other animals, even including the snake-necked leopard, who, on the the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis is represented as so tame as to be restrained by one man with a collar and chain, are represented on one or other of our wands as biting or trampling upon snakes. That with this end in view the daily and nightly march of the sun should be displayed is exactly what those who have studied the ideas which underlie the practice of magic would expect. For the sun, whether as Rā overthrowing Apep, or in his natural shape, was always looked upon in Egypt as having serpents for his enemies,³⁵ and his companions in his daily progress are represented in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere as spearing, stabbing, and dismembering them at every step. Now it is a fundamental rule in all

³³ Prof. Erman's contention that they were to protect the dead rather than the living against the attacks of reptiles in the Underworld seems to be negatived by the fact that the names of the persons for whom they were made are never attended by the expression *ma-kheru* or any of its equivalents. In the case of Snaa-ab's wand (Fig. 4) a careful distinction is made between her mother Senb-se-ma, who is called *nemit ankhh*, and herself, who is not.

³⁴ *Religion*, p. 167.

³⁵ Cf. The Hymn to the Aten from El Amarna (Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 40): "When thou settest on the western horizon . . . all snakes bite."

magic that the mere recital or portrayal of an act done by some great personage, such as a god or a king, will cause this act to be repeated somewhere else, and hence the picture of the triumphs of Râ would be the very thing of all others to have a fatal effect on all serpents in its neighbourhood.

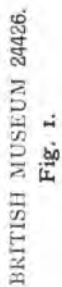
Date of the Wands.

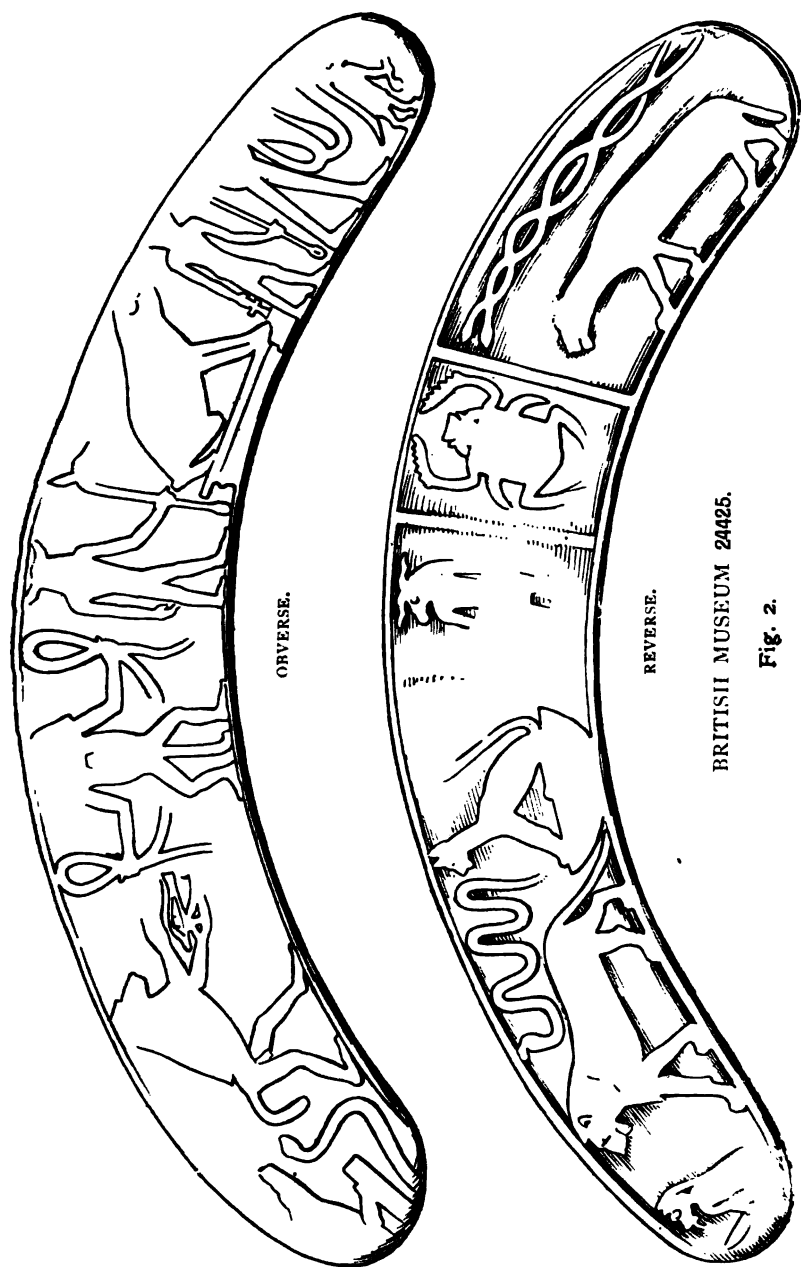
As to this there is very little to be said. The names of those for whom these wands were made, such as Ptah-neferu, Seb-kai, Pnehî, and the like are all consonant with the fact of their being made in the period ranging from the XIIth to the XIVth dynasty, to which the curators of the Cairo Museum assign them. They bear therefore some of the earliest representations of the god Bes, and their manufacture may be connected with the introduction of his worship. Their disappearance in later times is no doubt due to their supersession by the Cippi of Horus and steles like the Metternich stele intended to subserve the same purpose.

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr. H. R. Hall for his help in reading the inscriptions and for several valuable suggestions, and Professors Erman and Schäfer of Berlin, M. Bénédite of the Louvre, and Dr. Budge of the British Museum, for their kindness in allowing me to make copies of the several wands under their charge; while the like thanks are due to Lady William Cecil, Prof. Petrie, Mr. Hilton Price, and Mr. W. L. Nash, for communicating to me others from their collections. I have only heard of three besides these here given,³⁶ all which I hope to publish in a later paper. If, in the meantime, any reader can give me indications of any fresh ones, I shall be much obliged.

³⁶ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, Pl. III, figs. 1, 2, 3.





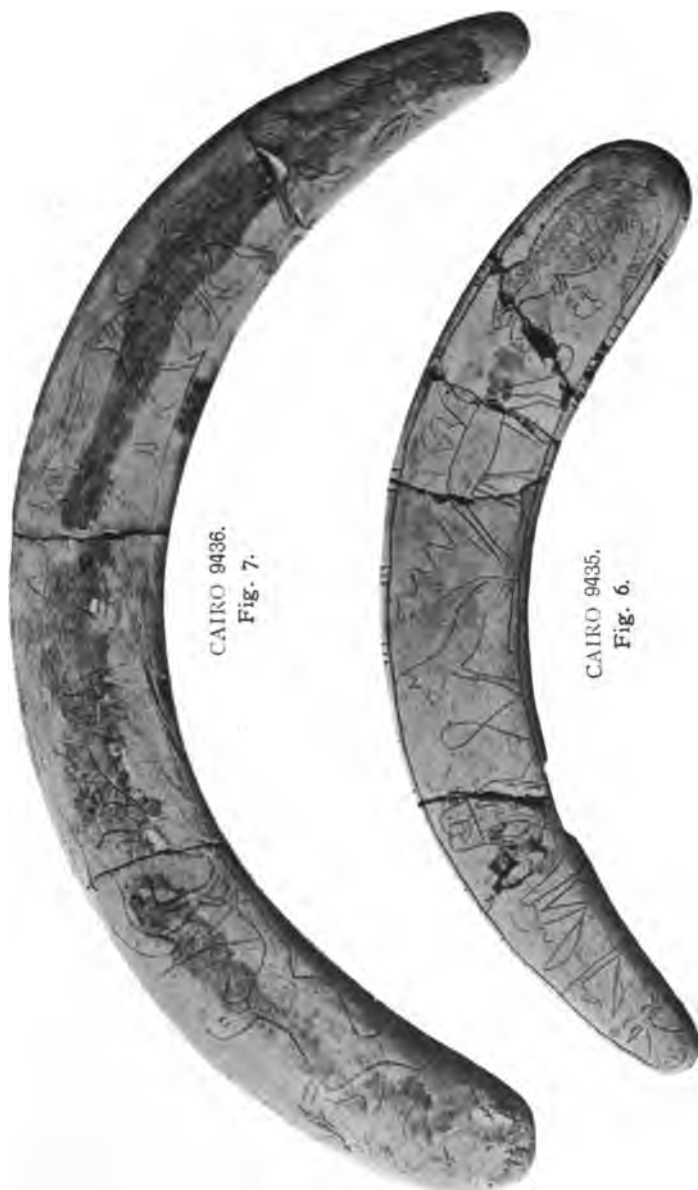


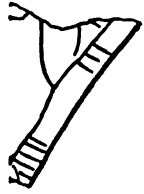


BRITISH MUSEUM 18175.

Fig. 3.







BERLIN 6709.
Fig. 11.

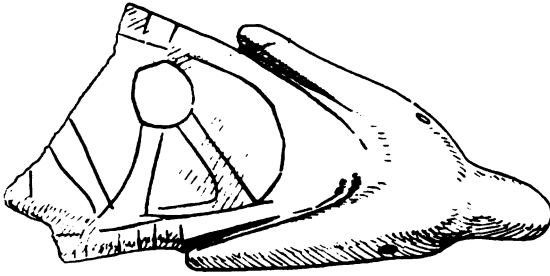




CAIRO 434,
Fig. 10.



BERLIN 6709,
Fig. 11.



BERLIN 12611. Fig. 12.



CAIRO 9438.

Fig. 13.



LOUVRE.

Fig. 22.



MR. W. L. NASH'S COLLECTION.

Fig. 30.



CAIRO 9433. Fig. 14.



LOUVRE. Fig. 15.



CAIRO 9437.
Fig. 16.

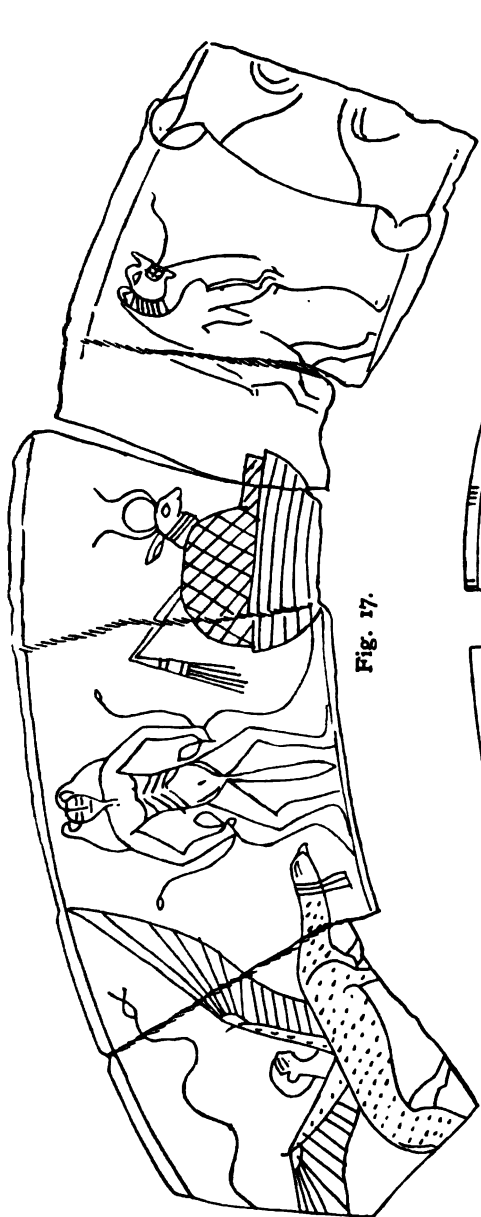
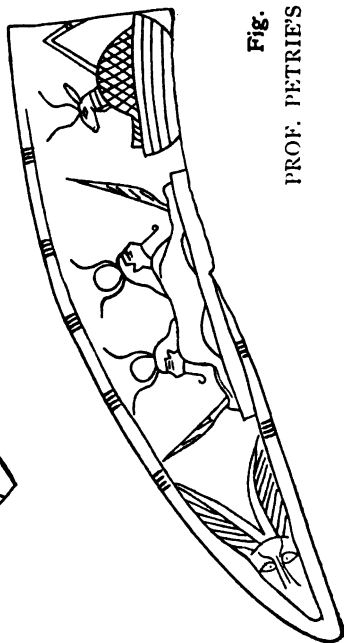


Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.
PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.



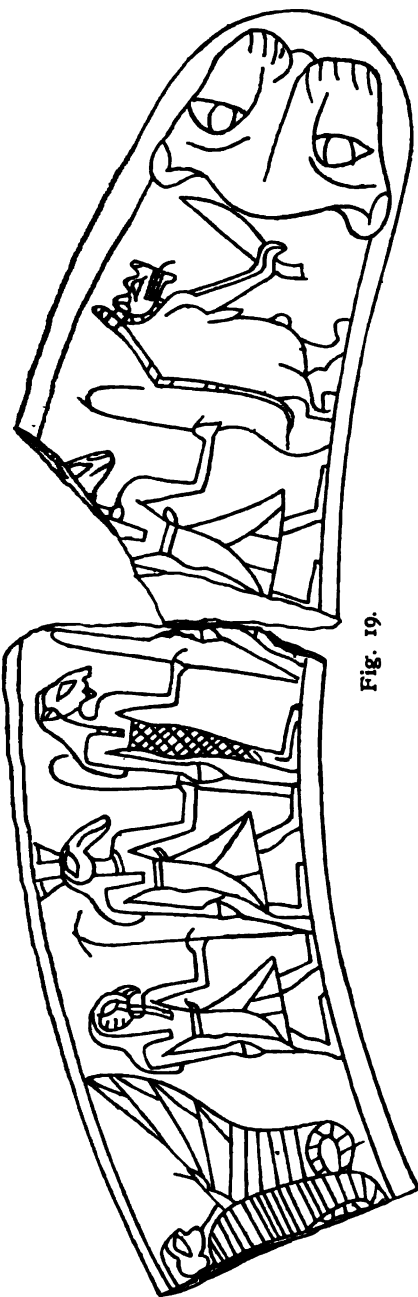


Fig. 19.

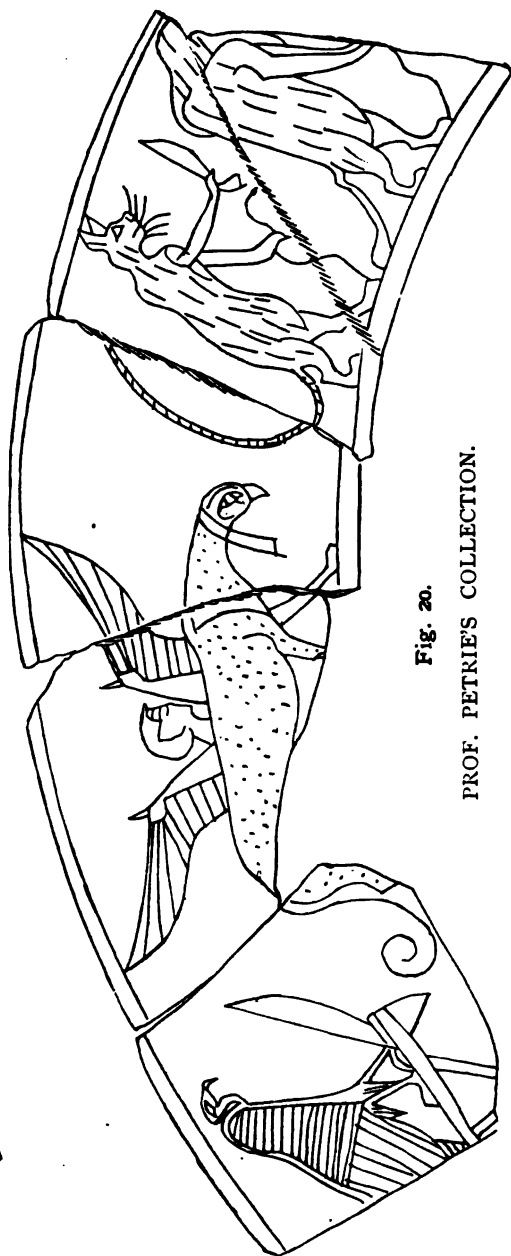
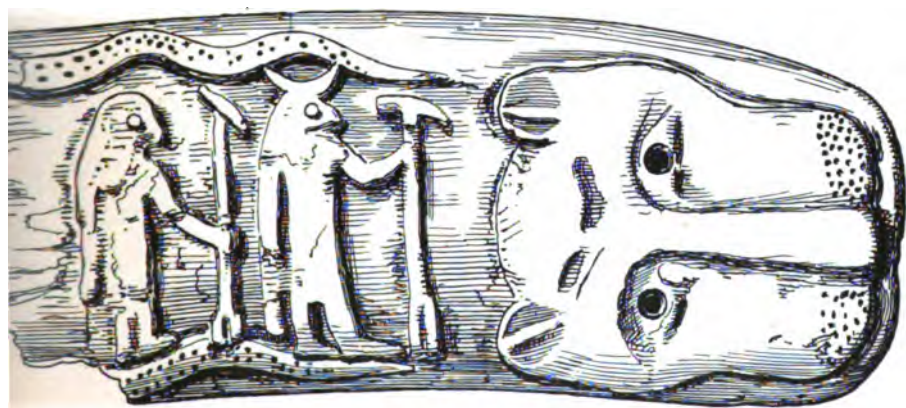


Fig. 20.
PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.



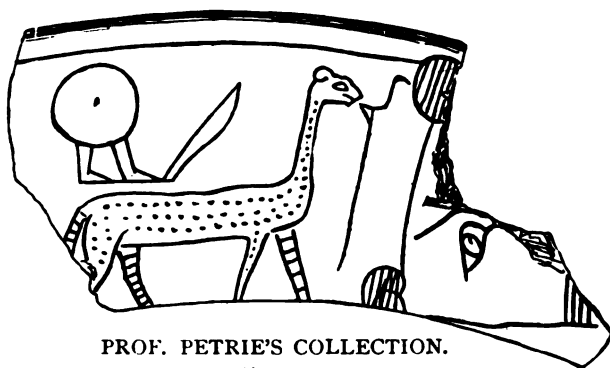
BERLIN 6710.

Fig. 21.



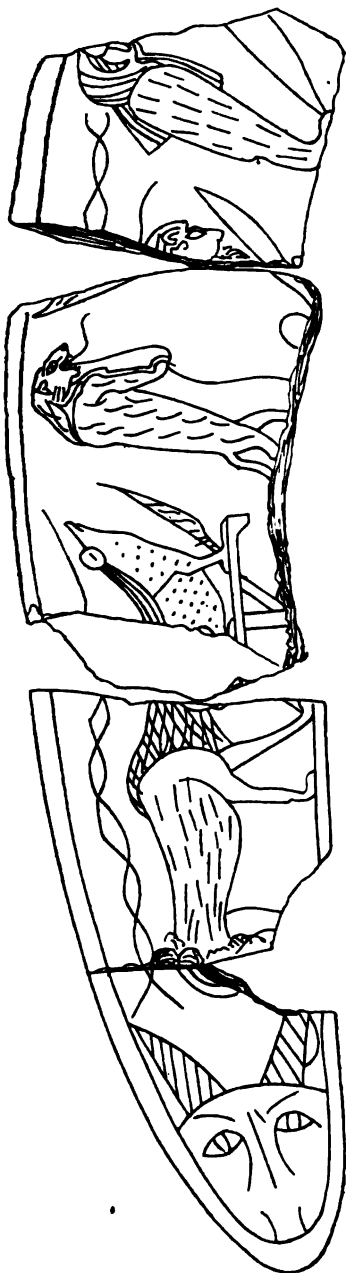
BRITISH MUSEUM 20778.

Fig. 27.



PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

Fig. 31.



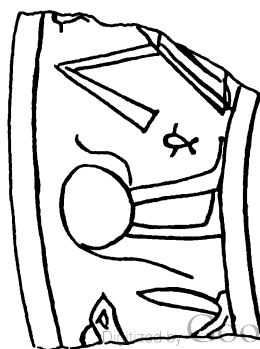
PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.
Fig. 26.



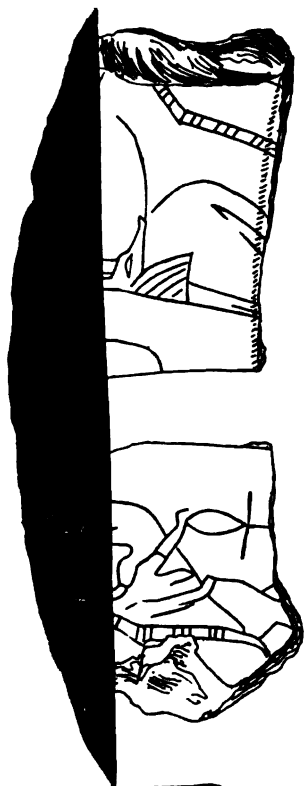
BERLIN 6713.
Fig. 41.



BERLIN 6712.
Fig. 40.



BERLIN 6715.
Fig. 32.



CAIRO 8440.
Fig. 28.

PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.
Fig. 32.

B.M.



B.M.
38190



B.M.



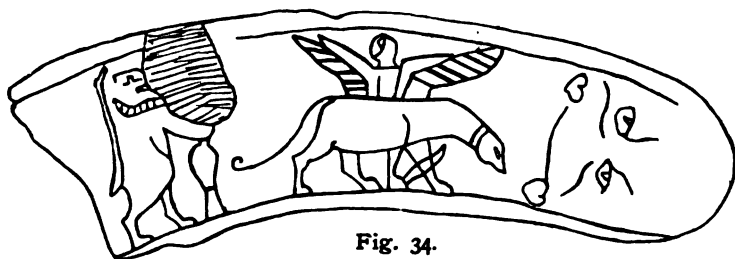
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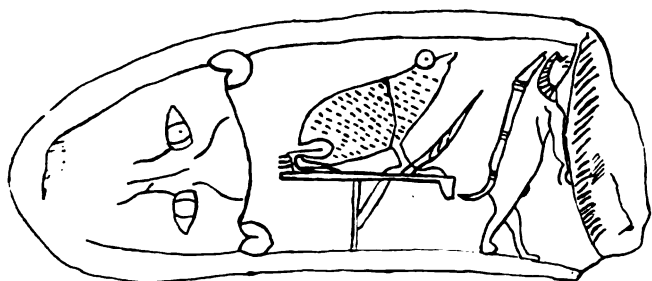
B.M.

Fig.



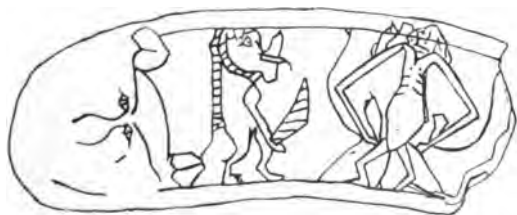
B.M.
38190

Fig. 34.



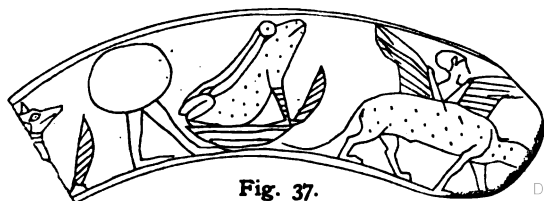
B.M.

Fig. 35.



B.M.
6178.

Fig. 36.



B.M.
17078.

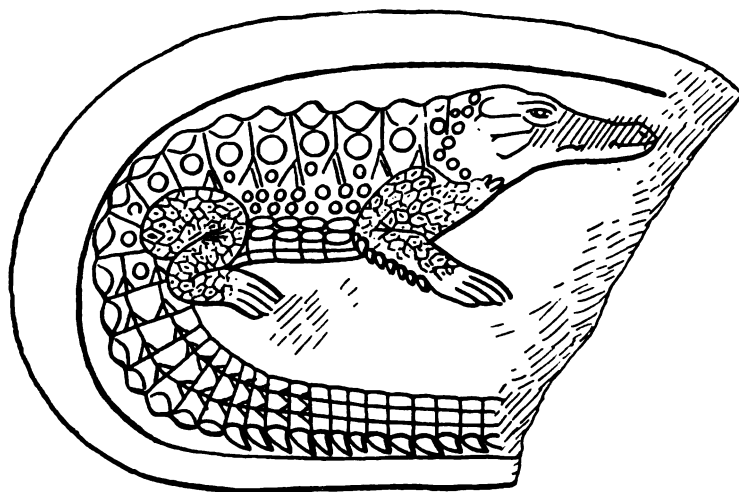
Fig. 37.



REVERSE.

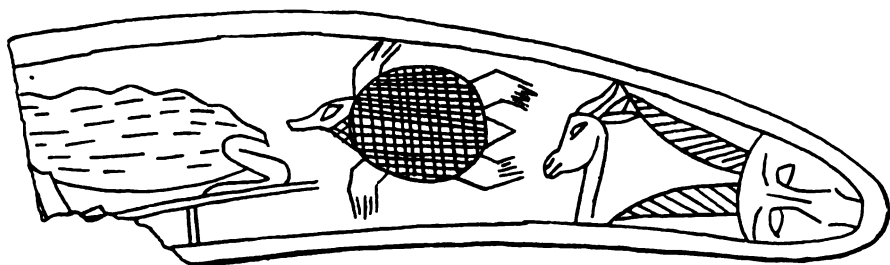
Fig. 38.

BERLIN
9611.



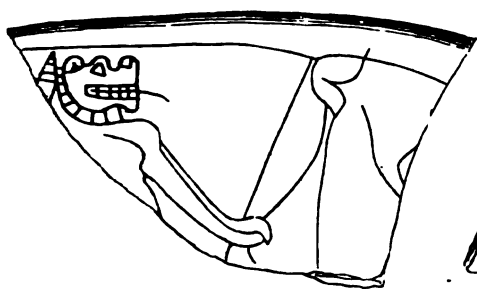
OBVERSE.

Fig. 39.



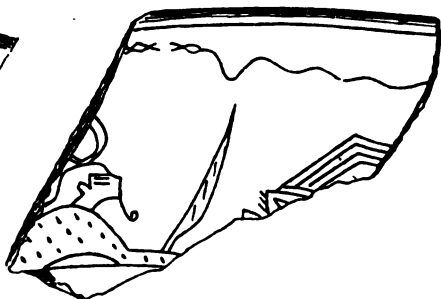
BERLIN 8176.

Fig. 40.



PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

Fig. 43.



PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

Fig. 42.



PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

Fig. 44.



BERLIN 6714. Fig. 41.



CAIRO 9439. Fig. 29.

A ROCK-CUT HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION
ON JABAL JEHAË, IN THE ADEN HINTER-LAND.

BY G. U. YULE, LIEUT., R.E.

In August, 1904, I received orders to join the Aden Column, a force rendered necessary by the attitude of the Turks with regard to the Aden Boundary Limitation Commission. The main routes into the interior are shown on the annexed sketch-map (Plate I), which however must be regarded as only approximately accurate, as it is taken from the "pockethandkerchief" map supplied by the Government. My route, which, for political reasons, is the one used by troops, lies immediately to the east of LA HEJ. As this is by no means the best route, the usual Caravan road *viâ* LA HEJ will be described.

The journey really begins at LA HEJ, 28 miles from ADEN. From ADEN to SHÊKH OTHMAN (10 miles) there is a metalled road, and one can drive out. From SHÊKH OTHMAN to LA HEJ (18 miles) the journey is by camels across the desert. From LA HEJ to NOBAT DAKIN is a wearisome journey without water, 20 miles over sand and low scrub. NOBAT DAKIN is a collection of two *Dars*, or towers, on the banks of the Wadi Tiban, in which for the first, and last, time running water was seen. It is a very unhealthy spot, and it is better to go on for another two miles and dig a water-hole in the Salah Bileh. Here begin the hills, which are very precipitous limestone ridges, running N.W. and S.E., and are covered with thorn bushes. From here the road lies in shingly river beds, along which camels are the only animals that can travel.

NOBAT to EL MILEH. There is a water-hole about half way, which has to be dug out. EL MILEH is a collection of mud-huts in the middle of a little cultivation.

EL MILEH to SULEK is good travelling, the road going over plains and low hills. JIMIL hill, which lies between the two places, is interesting, as on it there are several Himyaritic (?) tanks, roughly circular, from five to 15 yards across, made like the Aden tanks. There are several ruins in the vicinity.

SULEK to DTHALA is usually done in one march. The road entirely in river beds. At HARDABA the mountains begin, and road winds among the foot-hills, which rise 400 feet straight. A cross section of these mountains would be like this sketch.



These ridges get higher and higher as one goes north, till snow line is reached in Turkish territory.

DTHALA is on a platform which is ascended by several passes. The one most used is the *Khureba*, which is paved, and is said to be Himyaritic.

From the DTHALA plateau the mountain mass of Jābal J... rises abruptly some 2,500 feet. One of the north-eastern spurs of this mountain terminates in three small peaks, which are easily identified by a white mosque half-way down the slope, which forms



a conspicuous landmark.

Cut on the side of a cliff

on the North side of the

centre one of these peaks.

I found the Himyarite inscription here shown.

In addition to the small photograph,

I took an accurate

tracing of the Inscription,

which is reproduced, slightly

reduced in size, on Plate II.

There are traces of an old

road to the top of this spur,

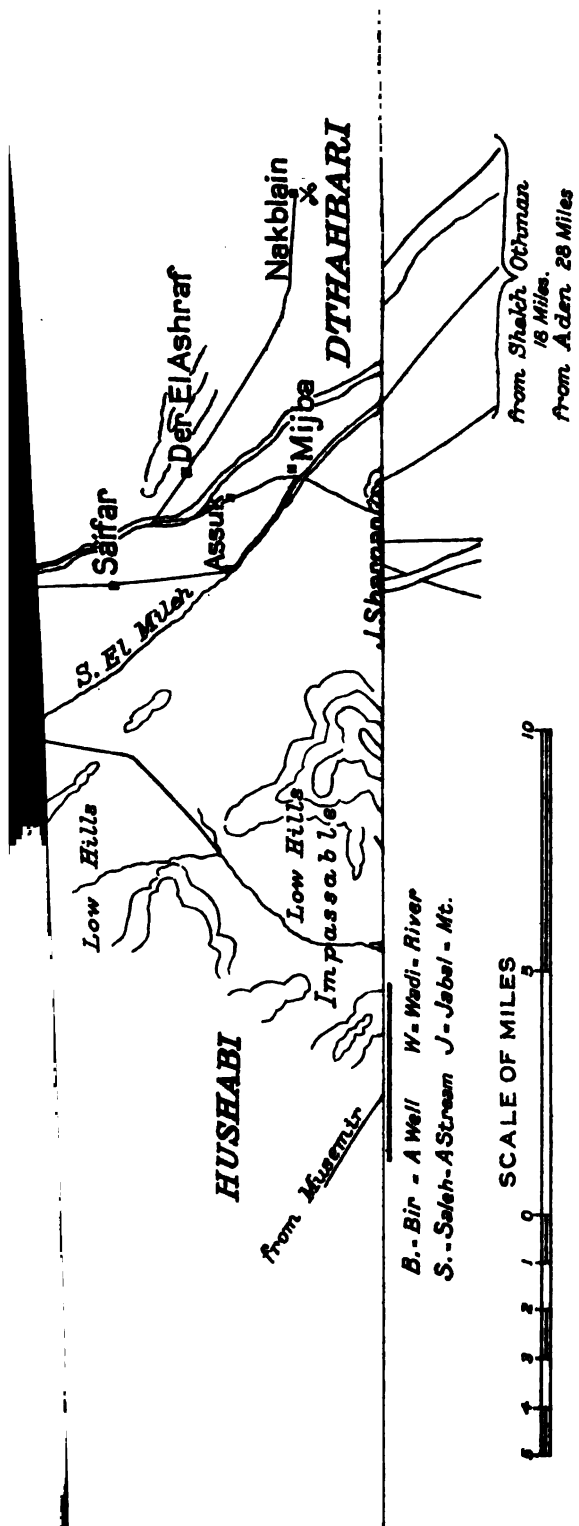
with the foundation stones

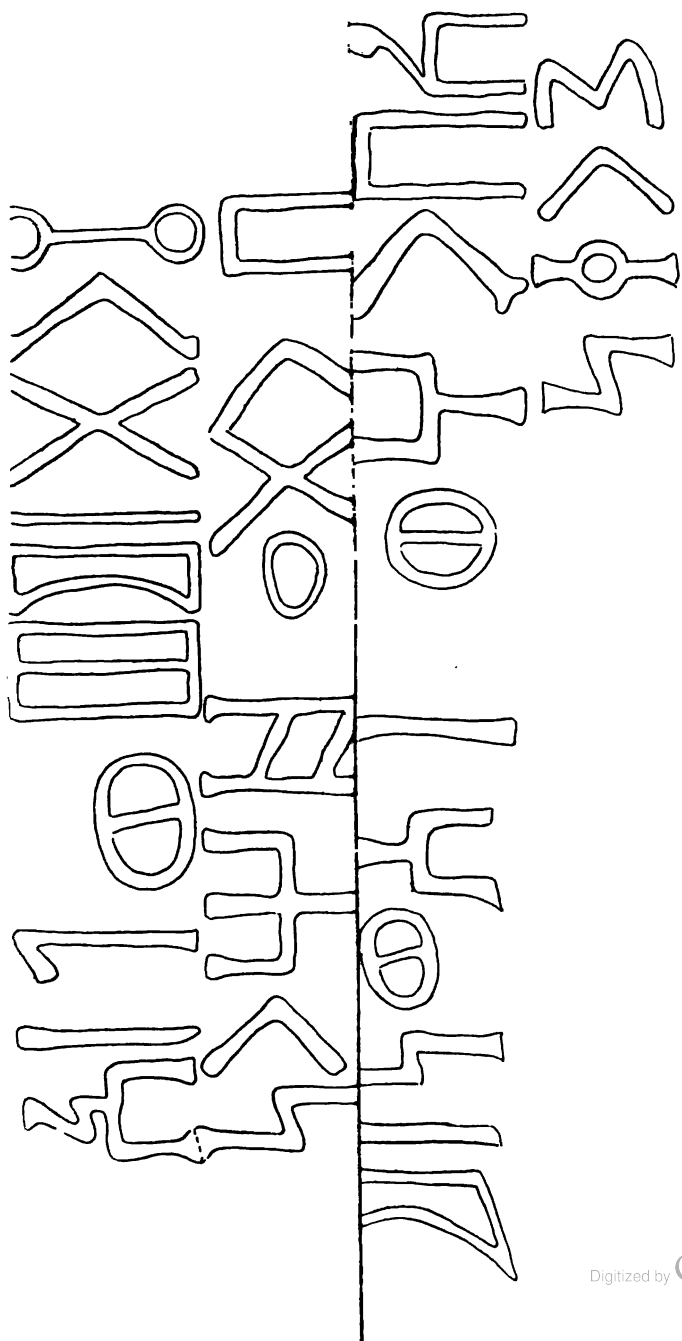
of one or two buildings,

not sufficient to show what

sort of dwellings they were.

About four miles off is an old zig-zag road up the KHUREBA Pass, which is said to be Himyaritic. About ten miles east of HARDABA is a Himyaritic tower, but at present it is as much as one's life is worth to go without a strong escort.





HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION
From JABAL JEHAFA, $\frac{1}{3}$ real size.

I do not suppose that anyone will ever be able to get up here again. At present it would not be allowed, and when the troops are withdrawn the Arabs are sure to have a row.




Thus I have taken my readers from my starting point at LA HEJ to the place where I found this Himyaritic monument. The translation of the Inscription I must leave to others.

NINA AND NINEVEH.

BY

T. G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*

(See "*Proceedings*," Vol. XXVII, p. 78, *Mr. Harding Smith's Tablet*, Col. I, division 1.)

The tablet 47760.¹ (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part 12, pl. 15), l. 22, gives the pronunciation of  as *tar* in Sumero-Akkadian, and *ziqtu* in Semitic Babylonian, when used as the name of a fish. According to Delitzsch (*Handwörterbuch*), *ziqtu* means "thorn," "spur," and "sting" (of a scorpion).   (*tar*, with the determinative suffix for "fish") should therefore mean "the thorn-fish," probably so called from the spines with which it was armed.

¹ Found by Rassam at Borsippa in 1882.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, June 14th, 1905, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D. (*President*) : "Hittite History and Religion, with translations of the more important inscriptions."



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VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, June 14th, 1905.

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PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
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THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1905.

Fifth Meeting, June 14th, 1905.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D., &c. (President),*

IN THE CHAIR.



DONATION FUND.

The following Subscription has been received :—

F. G. Hilton Price, Esq., <i>Dir.S.A.</i> ...	£	s.	d.
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The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :—

From the Author, G. Legrain.—	“Renseignements sur les Dernières Découvertes faites à Karnak.”
” ” ”	“Rapport sur les Travaux exécutés à Karnak du 28 ^{ème} Sept., 1903, au 6 ^{ème} Juillet, 1904.”

The Secretary announced that the Council had elected as an Honorary Member, His Excellency Hamdi-Bey, Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

Messrs. C. F. Beyts, Farshût, Egypt; J. Fleming, Mannheim, Germany; W. W. Astor, Clieveden, Taplow, Bucks.; J. N. Das, Khulna, Bengal, were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.* (*President*): “Hittite History and Religion, with translations of the more important inscriptions.”

The subject was discussed by Dr. Pinches, Mr. Rylands, and Mr. Rouse.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

(Continued from page 122.)

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-LABELS.

53. One handle, perforated. 7" × 3".

Ἀρποκρα
τιων ο και
Ταεουοβσις
ευψυχει

"Harpokration, also called Taeouobsis, farewell


Ταεουοβσις: misread by LE BLANT (No. 87) Ταεουβσις. [SPIEGELBERG, retaining Le Blant's erroneous reading of this tessera, explains the name Ταεουβσις (*sic*) as Copt. ΤΟΕ+ΟΥΑΒ, "Weisser Fleck," "Whitespot." The correct reading shows that this explanation is probably right.] [No. 9894.]

The following labels appear to be somewhat later in date than the foregoing:—

54. One perforation. 5" × 2½".

Ψενοσιρις πρεσβυτ
Αροννωφριος
LKE

"Psenosiris the elder, (son) of Haronnōphris. 25 years (old)."

Αροννωφρις = *Heru-Unnefer*, 

Florid hand. IVth Cent. [No. 24481.]

55. One handle, perforated. A thick and clumsy piece of wood. 6" × 1½".

Καλλιμαχισ
γυνη Οννωφριος
Ετεουριου

"Kallimachis wife of Onnōphris (son) of Eteourios (?)."

Ετεουριου(?) is uncertain : it may be Ενουργου " (son) of Enourgos," a purely Greek name, but unknown to Pape's dictionary of names.

[No. 20795.]

56. As 55. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$.

Διδυμου Ἱερακος
πρεσβ(υτερον) Κρουριος βιωσαν
τος Λκγ

"Of Didymos (son) of Hierax the elder, (son) of Krouris: who lived 23 years."

The formula is unusual.

[No. 24478.]

57. As. 55. $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$.

Σενταβες θυγατηρ
Ηρακλειου μητρος Αρτε
μιτος

"Sentabes daughter of Hērakleios (and of her) mother Artemis."

Σενταβες =  T-š(r)et-n-Ta-Bes,


"The child of Her who belongs to Bes."

Florid hand. IVth Cent. [No. 20803.]

58. As 55. $4'' \times 2''$. Red ink.

Αυρηλιος Ψεντα
σαιέ μητηρ
Τανω' εβιασεν (sic)
ἱβ' ἰγ'.

"Aurelius Psentasaie(?). (His) mother (was) Tanō. He lived 12 (years). Year 10."

A confused formula : the above translation gives what was apparently meant by the writer. The name Ψεντασαιε probably =  P-š(r)et-n-ta-hesit, "The Child of the (f.) Singer' (or 'Praiser'), i.e., a priestess (cf. No. 52 ante). The use of the name Aurelius dates this label to after 212 A.D., in which year the "Constitutio Antonina" permitted the general use of the

This label is interesting on account of the peculiar character of the faint uncial writing which it bears. [No. 24501.]

The formulæ of the following labels mention the trade or occupation of the deceased or of his relatives :—

61. As 55. $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$.

Φεμαῖτι Βησιος
τεκτων εβιω—
σεν Λκα

“Phemaiti son of Bēsis, carpenter : lived 21 years.”

[No. 23181.]

62. As 55. $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. Rough. IInd Cent.

Απολλωνιος
υιος Απολλω
νιου Ποιμενος

“Apollōnios son of Apollōnios the shepherd.

[No. 24457.]

63. As 55. $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. IIIrd Cent.

Απολλων νεωτερος
υῖος Πατη αρτοκοπος

“Apollōn the younger, son of Patē : baker.”

[No. 24533.]

64. As 55. $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$. Cursive. IInd Cent.

OBV.

Θεοδωρα Πωιτεσειρις Ψενοσειριος
Ψενομουπιος οικοδομω μη⁷ Θεοδω
ρας απο Ψωνεως ετων ενδεκα

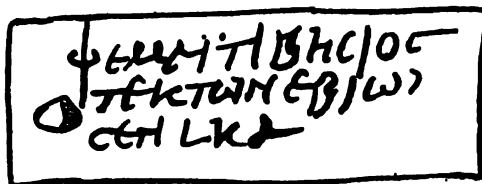
The REV. is partly broken away, but corresponds with the OBV. with the exception that ετων ενδεκα is replaced by Λια.

“Theodōra Pōiteseiris (?) (daughter) of Psenoseiris (son) of Psene-noupis the builder (and of her) mother Theodōra. From Psōnis. Eleven years (old).”

The reading Πωιτεσειρις is doubtful. The word may be a form of Πετοσιρις, “the Gift of Osiris.” Ψενομουπις =

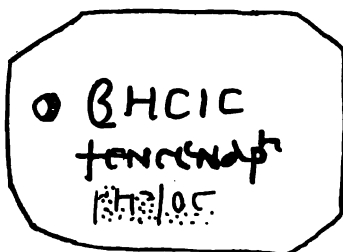


61.



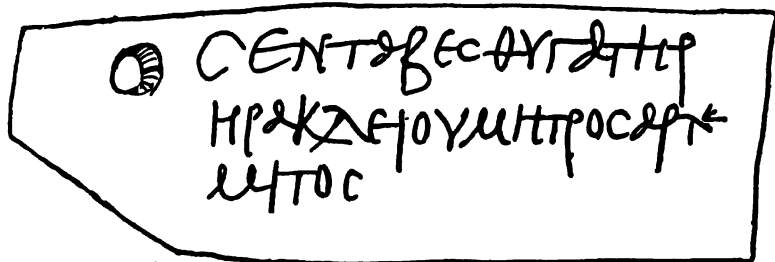
II-III CENTURY A.D.

30.



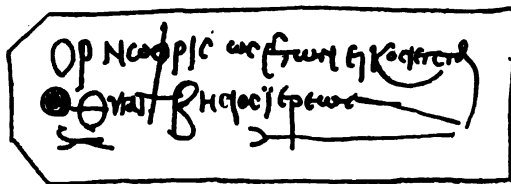
II-III CENTURY A.D.

57.



III CENTURY A.D.

66.

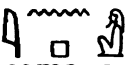



III CENTURY A.D.

MUMMY-LABELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

 $\frac{2}{3}$ size of the originals.

The Nos. are those mentioned in the text.

 *Pa-š(r)e-n-Anupe*, "the Child of Anubis." From Psōnis came a great many of the people whose names are commemorated on these labels: cf. KREBS, 82, 83 (Berlin, 10564, 10562). The British Museum possesses sixteen bilingual labels bearing the subscription ἀπὸ Ψωνέως. The demotic equivalent of this phrase is

ⲥⲓ. ⲗⲓ. ⲙⲓ ⲙⲓ — ⲡⲥⲟⲛⲉ  M. Revillout (*op. cit.*, No. 25), not having any bilingual or Greek labels ἀπὸ Ψωνέως before him, has identified Pasunāu (Psōnē) with Syene. Psōnis, like Bompae (see No. 50, above), was no doubt in the immediate neighbourhood of Panopolis (Akhmīm). [No. 24552.]

65. As 55. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. Late IIInd Cent.

Ἱεραξ Ἱερακὸς ἱα
τρος μητρος Τασαῖς
ἱτος πρεσβύ Ψενσενφα
τηρτος

"Hierax son of Hierax, physician: (son of his) mother Tasaïs the elder (πρεσβυτερης), (daughter) of Psensenphatrēs."

Such names as Hierax, Hierakiōn, Hierakapollōn, Hierakiaina (cf. Nos. 42, 56) were naturally common in Egypt, where the hawk was so universally revered as the emblem of Horus, who had by the IIInd Cent. A.D. become absolutely identified with Apollo. The name was well known in Christian days, and finally dies out in the debased form Ἱερακᾶ (Yeraka), the name of a Coptic monk (ZOEGA, *Catalogus*, § 127). For Τασαῖς, cf. Ταψαῖς, No. 33, above: Ψενσενφατρης is "the son of the son of the Twin."

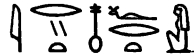
[No. 24524.]

66. As 55. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. Florid semi-cursive hand. IVth Cent.

Ορνωφρις ὡς ἑτῶν εἰκοσι ἑπτα
θυγατ[ηρ] Βησιος ἱερεως

—

"Ornōphris, about twenty-seven years (old), daughter of Bēsis, priest."




The name Ορνωφρις is probably the ancient  *Arin-nofrit*, "beautiful companion." The phrase ὡς ἑτῶν κ.τ.λ. is not uncommon. [No. 23193.]

The two following labels bear a direction for the transport of the mummy to another locality for burial : cf. LE BLANT, 46, 54, 56, 67, 74 ; KREBS, 33, 34 ; WESSELY, 5.

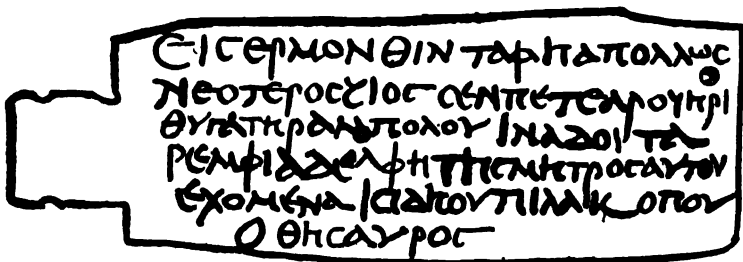
67. Two handles, perforated. $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$.

Σενφατρης Κλε
οπατρας Διοπολι
της εις Τουφιον

"Senphatrês son of Kleopatra, Theban, to Touthion."

LE BLANT, 93. Touthion was the Egyptian  T'rt, or  T'r-tet, the modern  Tûd, on the east bank of the Nile opposite Erment. [No. 29531.]

68. One handle, four perforations. $6'' \times 2''$.



29513

Εις Ερμονθιν ταφη Απολλως
νεοτερος υιος Σενπετεαρουηρι
θυγατηρ Αμπολου, ινα δοι Τα
ρεμφι αδελφη της μητρος αυτου
εχομενα Ισιδι του Πιλακ οπου
ο θησαυρος

1. 2. νεοτερος (sic). 1. 3. δοι (sic).

"To Hermonthis : funeral of Apollôs the younger, son of Senpetearouêri daughter of Ampolos, to be given to Taremphî, sister of his mother, who belongs to Isis of Pilak where is the treasure."

Both spelling and grammar are ignored in the pidjin-Greek of this label : its sense, however, appears to be as above. Σενπετεαρουηρι

I.—A COPTIC RECIPE FOR THE PREPARATION OF PARCHMENT.

II.—A USE OF THE TERM "CATHOLIC CHURCH."

By W. E. CRUM.

I.

The methods by which skins were prepared for the scribe's use can be gathered from casual references in classical authors and from various instructions left us by monkish writers of the Middle Ages. But, so far as I have been able to learn, no specific treatise on the matter is now known, either in Greek or Latin.¹ The remnants therefore of a relatively early Coptic recipe, which, from the number and peculiarity of its Greek words,² we may assume to be as usual but a translation, would be of no little interest—were it but intelligible. As it is, the following fragment offers a text as difficult of exact translation as any known to me. Scarcely a line is intact and most words of importance are either imperfect in form or obscure in meaning.

The MS., now in the Phillipps' collection,³ consists of two leaves of papyrus, about 18 × 14 cm. each, and paged 1-5. The script is a square, upright uncial, with angular Δ, Π, Υ, dating perhaps from the 6th or 7th century. The idiom is a pure Saïdic, the only usage calling for note being that of the subjunctive after *λοιπόν*, in an imperative or future sense.⁴

Although the word parchment does not occur, it is not, I think, doubtful what material is treated of. The pumice-stone⁵ and white-

¹ See the palaeographical handbooks of Birt, Wattenbach and Gardthausen and Paoli with the references they give (especially *K. bayr. Akad., hist. Kl.*, Abh. XII. 20, 21, 26). I may add that I have also enquired of several eminent palaeographers, but in vain.

² Moreover several are accented, an occurrence almost unique in Coptic texts.

³ I have to thank Mr. Fitzroy Fenwick for kindly agreeing to its publication.

⁴ In Mingarelli, *Codd. Rel.* CLVI, the meaning is different, if indeed that be subjunctive and not imperfect. Subjunctive is occasionally used thus after *UNNCOC*.

⁵ Cf. *Brit. Mus. Catal.* no. 550 (Or. 4720, 18), a letter on parchment from one monk to another, asking for the favour of 'a little *KΘCΙΑΘ*, as a brother is writing a few parchments.'

lead and the word **ΟΥΛΟΥΛΑΡ** (p. 5) would not apply to papyrus.⁶ There is, however, a difficulty in the gender of this material. The Copts adopted *μέμβρανον*, not *μεμβράνα*, for 'parchment'⁷ and treated it of course as masculine. Their own word **ΥΛΑΡ** is also masculine. The feminine pronoun, here exclusively used, might, it is true, in accordance with regular usage, represent the neuter 'it.'

There is still more obscurity both as to the details of the processes recommended and as to their purpose. That the parchment has been already prepared seems clear: its primary preparation⁸ would surely involve the words for 'lime' or 'chalk.' The six conditions successively prescribed for appear all to be undesirable and to require remedy. As to § II, Professor Ferguson of Glasgow (whose familiarity with mediaeval chemistry suggested an appeal to him) observes that vitriol or alum (anciently, it seems, synonyms) with white-lead would give an iron oxide with a yellowish hue. The iron, he conjectures, *might* help the ink, the white-lead *might* help to fix the writing. I can see no reference to palimpsests, unless it be in § IV.

p. Γ

ΠΗΝΕΤΕΡΗΤ · ΛΟΙΠΟΝ

ΠΓΦΟΤΣ ΜΓΣΑΖΣ · ΠΑ

[Λ]Η ΔΒ ΟΗ⁹ ΕΚΥΑΝΗΑΤ ΕΡΟΣ

[ΕΣ]ΒΟΣΤ. ΕΚΜΑΛΑΝ

[ΤΗ]ΡΙΕ ΠΗΟΣ ΜΓΣΑΖΣ ·

[Ε]ΥΩΠΕ ΟΤΩ[?] ΕΣΟ ΠΛΚΕ

[Λ]ΚΕ · Η¹⁰ ΕΣΥΛΥΩΛ[?] ΕΚ

[ΣΟΟ]ΤΗ, ΧΕΣΗΑΠΩΩΗΕ,

[ΕΚ]ΜΑΧΕ ΤΚΕΣΙΛΕ, ΕΤ

10. [ΟΟ]Η, ΕΒΟΛ[?] ΖΙΩΩΟΣ ΜΤΩΙ

[ΖΕ]ΥΗΗ ΠΓΦΟΤΣ, ΠΓ

[ΣΑ]ΖΣ · ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΕΚΕΣΙ

[ΛΕ] ΠΗΟΣ ΕΠΣΑ ΣΜΑΤ,

[Π]ΠΛΤΚΕΖΑΙ, ΕΡΟΣ[?] Ε

[ΠΤ]ΗΡΦ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ, ΠΓ

[ΧΑ]ΖΣ ΜΟΤΚΟΤΙ, Π

(Margin.)

⁶ Dziatzko indeed, *Untersuchungen* 121, 122, thought it not certain that the pumice was never applied to papyrus.

⁷ ΠΕΒΡΑΝΟΝ, ΠΕΒΡΙ, *Rec.* XI. 132, ΠΕΒΙΒΡΑΝΟΝ, *Triadon* ed. von Lemm § 685, *Brit. Mus. Catal.* no. 550, ΠΕΦΡΩΝ, *Crum, Copt. MSS.* p. 61.

⁸ Perhaps described on pp. 1, 2, now lost.

⁹ ΟΗ added above.

¹⁰ As in Zoega, *Tab. III.* no. XII and Revillout, *Actes* 45, 51, &c., the cross represents ⁴ or rather [?], i.e., the soft breathing. In the *Can. Athanas.* papyrus it has the form [?].

p. [A]

- †ειθει ον,¹¹ εϋτην² υ[ν]
 οτκοτῖ, νοβν ετσηх
 υμμετερηт, ετιη[р н]
 οττοβις ηζβος ηт[ε]
 ηυοβιу ηυατε, та[ρος]
 ηγqоτс ηгсагс · [ε]
 †υωπε οτεῖ βο υυono
 ρῖс · εκεсвгсωгс у[ни]
 уни ηткесiαε εт[
 10. λοιπον, εуωπε гηλ[
 ωμε, екнa† сepη
 ερος εϋτηн υμoт
 κοτῖ η†ειθει εт[
 υμμετερηт, εтш[¹²
 εтunр, ηοττοβις[·]
 †^{sic} ληνον ερшaηпueλa πο]
 ρу εβολ ρiωωс
 (Margin.)

p. 5

ηтeпeϋυοβιу та
 ρос ηгсouq καωс
 ηпeктннве, εгo[гн]
 ερος · пaлн оη, [εкшaη]
 aηaгтe ηпkaу ηq
 сωут ηqтпuооу[ε]
 ηсаeη. екeсвгсω
 гс ηοτтао ηόχpт

(Margin.)

p. 6

- ηqпωωne, екнacε
 тq oттaтiαε υμoт н
 †тн,¹³ εхппueλa εтш
 [п]вiкiон, ηгсагс · oтк
 εтi εηснaпωωne aη
 ηε : εуωπε οτεῖ
 [ε]co ηοтaηуaар, екнa
 [г]oкс καωс ηткесi
 [αε]! εтxαxω ηгсагс
 10. [гno]тkaу εqпок ·
 [ε]уωπε οτεῖ εсcлaσ
 [λ]ωс · екнaгтс η
 [т]кесiαε εтoш. лoпo
 [н]гoεx oткoтῖ η†ε
 [μiε]βι ηгuорq ηοτto
 [βic] ηгтаate ερος ·
 (Margin.)

- ηгсouq καωс εгoтн]
 10. ερος ηгсагс :
 †εуωπε οτεῖ εсcлoхт
 екнaкесiαε υμo[с н]
 тeтoш ηгтпqот[с]
 гoλωс · aλλa ηгka
 пuот ηкесiαε ρiω]
 ωс, ηглeαитћp[iε]

¹¹ Divide thus on account of the form of the word lower down.¹² ? εтшн[х].¹³ ? oβн.

P. 3.] together. Then (λοιπόν) you shall wipe it and write on it. Again (πάλιν δέ) too when you see that it is shrivelled¹⁴ you shall polish (λεαντηρίζειν?)¹⁵ it and write on it.

(II) If it be one that is all in wrinkles¹⁶ (?) or (γ) that is . . . ,¹⁷ you know that it will change¹⁸ (?) : you shall merely¹⁹ (?) place (?) the soft (?) pumice (κίσηλις²⁰) upon it²¹ and shall wipe it and write on it ; but (ἀλλά) you shall pumice (κίσηλοῦν ?) it on both sides before you write at all upon it. Then (λοιπόν) you shall spread upon it²² (?) a little (p. 4) white-lead (ψιμύθιον) mixed with a little alum (or vitriol²³), they being pounded²⁴ (?) together and tied in a linen cloth, so that only the powder reach it (sc. the parchment) ; (then) you shall wipe it and write on it.

(III) If it be one that is . . . (μονοξύς²⁵), you shall rub it

¹⁴ V. Rossi, *Papiri*, I, iii, 76 (of John the Baptist) "his belly cleaving to his spine for (lack of) bread, his flesh dried up and very shrivelled or parched for (lack of) oil, his face sharpened by the desert air." In *Æg. Z.* 1886, p. 89, the word applies to the head.

¹⁵ No verb from λεαντηρ is in the dictionaries. We might here have the future, if we assumed the translator to have retained the conjugated forms.

¹⁶ As if from **ΩΛΚ**. Cf. **ΩΒΩ** : **ΕΒΩΘ**, **ΩΡΒ** : **ΕΡΒΘ**, also **ΚΩΛΧ** : **ΚΑΧΘ**, **ΠΩΛΘ** : **ΠΛΘΘ**, **ΖΩΡΗ** : **ΖΕΡΗΘ** (Paris 131^a, 39).

¹⁷ All instances point to the meaning 'shake,' especially in a sieve. To those in Peyron add *Æg. Z.* 1885, 104 (of the ingredients of a chemical recipe), *Brit. Mus., Copt. Catal.* nos. 1031, 1073 (of grain), Paris MS. 130^a, f. 81 = Leyden MSS., p. 156 (of those who sift rubbish for gold. Context kindly supplied by Dr. Leipoldt). But the meaning here remains obscure.

¹⁸ ? change its character. On p. 5, 1 it refers to the ink.

¹⁹ **ΤΘΙΩΘ ΨΗΗ** recurs in Zoega 492 and Cairo 8007 (v. my *Copt. Mon.*, p. 4).

²⁰ The form κίσηλις in *Corp. Glossar.* iii, 327.

²¹ All uncertain. I take the verb to be **ΧΘ** ; but if **ΛΗΗ ΕΒΟΛ** be read, the meaning might be, 'you shall merely remove the pumice that remains upon it.' For **ΧΘ** v. my *Can. Athanas.* p. 99, l. 16 ; also Rylands (Crawford) MS. 36, **ΛΠΟΥΤΧΘ ΚΘΛΕΒΗΗ ΕΗΘΕΨΗΗ**. In Rossi I., i, 17 (reading confirmed by Peyron 376a) it is **ἐκβάλλειν** (Tischendorf, *Evangel. Apoc.* 212).

²² Or 'paint it with.' Or read **ΓΑΖΓ** (though only **ΓΕΖΓ** is found, Zoega 624 = my *Canons of Athanasius*, p. 103 ; cf. the Boh. variants, Horner *Gosp.* II, 71) and translate, 'rub down a little white lead.'

²³ Recurs in Turaief's *Mater. po archeol. christ. Egypta*, no. 9 (a recipe against **باسور** hemorrhoids) and *Brit. Mus. Catal.* no. 1135, 'white alum.'

²⁴ Supposing this = Boh. **ΧΗΧ**.

²⁵ Dr. L. Belleli suggests **μονόξεσ(τος)**, contrasted with **μονόμωσις**, if the latter be explained as **διξεστος**. (cf. L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, 26, 28). So perhaps a skin prepared upon one side only.

little by little with the . . . ²⁶ pumice (κισ.). Then (λοιπόν) if there are²⁷ . . . , you shall put . . . ²⁸ thereon, mixed with a little white-lead (ψιμ.) and . . . ²⁹ together, pounded (?) and tied in a cloth.

Then (λοιπόν?) if the ink (μέλαν) is spread over³⁰ it, (p. 5) and it (sc. the ink) run (?),³¹ you shall pour some drops of water of alum (??) into the ink (μέλαν) which is in the jar (βικίον) and shall write on it: it³² shall run (?) no more (οὐκέτι).

(IV) If it be one that has (?) a corroded skin,³³ you shall scrape (?) it well (καλῶν) with the hard pumice (κισ.) and write on it with a fine ³⁴ reed.

(V) If it be one that is smooth, you shall rub it with the soft pumice (κισ.). Then (λοιπόν) you shall pound (?) a little white-lead (ψιμ.) and tie it in a cloth and shake ³⁵ (it) upon it (sc. the parchment), (p. 6) so that its powder reach it, and you shall knead³⁶ it well (καλῶν) into it with your finger. And again (πάλιν) when you take

²⁶ Perhaps **ΕΤΣΟΥ**, 'light.'

²⁷ Taking **ΖΝ-** for **ΖΘΙ-**. The **Λ** may be **Δ**. **ΗΘ** is the plural copula, so not **ΩΗΘ**.

²⁸ I can suggest no explanation of this.

²⁹ If **ΕΥΘΗΧ** be read here, it can hardly recur in the next line.

³⁰ I assume this to mean when the surface has received the writing. But **ΤΟΡΩ** or **ΜΟΡΩ** could be read and translated, 'if the ink turn red upon it.' Or again, reading **ΖΟΡΩ**, 'if it become heavy, thick.' And **ΕΒΟΛ** is a difficulty; **ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ-** is 'from, away from,' yet it is not known to me appended to either of these verbs.

³¹ Properly 'change' (v. note 18). Perhaps in the sense of **ΠΩΩΝΘ ΕΒΟΛ**, 'overflow.'

³² The incongruous gender seems to show that something is wrong; as it stands it should refer not to the ink but to the surface written on.

³³ By analogy from other compounds of **ΟΥΩΩ**, the sense should be active, 'one that corrodes the skin,' viz. an ink; but this the gender of the subject here forbids.

³⁴ = **λεπτός** in Exod. xvi, 14.

³⁵ Of birds flapping their wings, Brit. Mus. *Catal.*, p. 109a, Paris MS. 131^a, 114^b; of the Cherubim, Paris 129¹⁴, 125^b; of perfume shed abroad, Guidi, *Framm.* p. 34, so perhaps here 'sprinkle over.'

³⁶ The potter says of his wine-jars, **ΨΑΙΣΩΜ ΥΠΕΡΘΥΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΑΤΑΙΟ ΜΗΚΟΥΦΟΝ ΥΠΝΕΩΣ ΤΑΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΩ**, Paris 129¹⁴, 68. In a chemical recipe, **ΕΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΥΠΝΕΤΕΡΗΤ ΜΘΕ ΥΠΕΤΗΥ**, *Aeg. Z.* '85, 114. Cf. ? Zoega 528 **ΕΩΥΕΩ** = Paris 129¹³, 2, **ΕΟΥΕΩ**.

the reed and it be hindered from going any longer, you shall rub it (sc. the parchment) with a piece of ochre (ὤχρα ?)³⁷ and knead it well (καλῶς) into it and shall (then) write on it.

(VI) If it be one that is sticky (?), you shall pumice (κισηλοῦν ?) it with the soft (sort) and shall not wipe it at all (ὄλως), but (ἀλλά) shall leave (?) the pumice-water upon it and shall polish (λεαντηριζειν ?) [it

II.

A USE OF THE TERM "CATHOLIC CHURCH."

Of the numerous churches at Thebes which are known to us from the 8th century documents from St. Phoebammon's monastery at Jêmé, most bear the names of the saints to whom they were dedicated (the Θεοτόκος, SS. Mary, Mark, Peter, the Apostles, Michael, Cyriacus, Isidore, Colluthus, Shenoute, Victor, &c.), some perhaps those of their founders or owners. In one or two instances however the church is called *the catholic church*, ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ.³⁸ The archpriest, deacon, and reader of *the catholic church* of Jêmé itself occur several times,³⁹ while that church adjoins certain house property with which one deed⁴⁰ is concerned. The same name designates churches elsewhere: a stele from Erment (? 8th century) commemorates a priest of *the catholic church*;⁴¹ an ostrakon from Thebes (Medinet Habu, 7th century) is addressed by "the brethren of St. Mary's (church) to the brethren of *the catholic (church)*,"⁴² and a papyrus document from Hermopolis (? 7th or 8th century) is likewise written by the clergy (κλήρος) of *the catholic church* of that town (ΨΟΥΤΗ), represented by their priests and deacons, to the

³⁷ An alchemistic vocabulary gives this as = yolk of egg, or, in the same list, arsenic (Berthelot, *Anciens Alchim.* II. 17. I owe this to Prof. Ferguson). In Deut. xxviii, 22 it is 'mildew.' Max. Planudes in a letter disapproves of smearing parchments with (? yolk of) egg. (v. Δεσλίων of Greek Histor. and Ethnogr. Soc. II, 62). Is this relevant here?

³⁸ Or omitting ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ.

³⁹ Revillout, *Actes*, pp. 48, 49, Ciasca, *Papiri*, p. KA, Brit. Mus. Pap. CV and Or. 4885 vo.

⁴⁰ *Wien. Z. f. Kunde d. Morg.* II, 30.

⁴¹ Cairo 8553.

⁴² *My Copt. Ostr.* no. 292.

authorities of a neighbouring village.⁴³ In Turin again is the index to a papyrus volume of about the 6th century, which belonged to *the catholic church* of Thinis (ΤΙΝ),⁴⁴ and one of the 9th or 10th century Nitrian MSS. was presented to *the catholic church* of Macarius in Scete.⁴⁵

Various explanations have been offered to account for the use of the term *catholic* in such a connection, at a period when Egyptian Christianity had long been separated from "the catholic church," imperially so-called. Ciasca inclined to see in it the Melkite sect;⁴⁶ yet it is doubtful whether that body had so long maintained itself in the distant Thebaid, and Krall held this view to be unlikely.⁴⁷ C. Schmidt, however, has recently repeated it.⁴⁸ But it would be difficult to maintain that the texts whence the above instances are drawn emanate from any but Jacobite communities. In one at any rate of the Jémé papyri here quoted the name of the priest attached to the *catholic church* should be significant of his creed:⁴⁹ he is called Nabornoukios, doubtless after Peter the Iberian, the monophysite champion who has a place in the Egyptian church calendar.⁵⁰

The above-cited instances would make it sufficiently clear why the *catholic church* is appropriately placed in a topographical index.⁵¹ But Du Cange shows that this was in fact a common enough designation for what we might now call parish churches and that it sometimes referred to an episcopal or cathedral church,⁵² as indeed we find it in a work of the great monophysite Severus, who speaks of the heretical books read even "in the midst of the ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ of Antioch."⁵³

⁴³ Pap. Heidelberg no. 578. I have to thank the Director of the University Library for kindly allowing me to cite this text.

⁴⁴ *Accad. dei Lincei*, Mem., Ser. V, i, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Zoega, p. 64. Is this identical with the ἔγια ἐκκλ., *ib.* p. 107?

⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.* p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Wien. Z. &c.* II, 31.

⁴⁸ *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1903, 257.

⁴⁹ Revillout, *l.c.* p. 34. It is true that in the Jémé texts and Theban ostraca the majority of proper names are not significant here. Severus indeed is very frequent, Pesynthius naturally also; Dioscorus, Anastasius, Theodosius are rare. Shenoute, very common, is not a safe test. It may be noted that the ostraca (and the *Tombeau de Dega*) accept the patriarch Damianus. The conditions in the Hermopolite MSS. are much the same.

⁵⁰ V. R. Raabe, *Leben* p. 14, *Synaxar.* 1st of Kihak, my *Copt. Ostr.* p. 42.

⁵¹ Cf. C. Schmidt, *l.c.*

⁵² *Gloss. Graecit.* 537, *Constant. Christ.* III, 3.

⁵³ Cairo MS. 8010.

THE XITH DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.

BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*


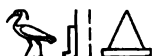


For the last two seasons excavations on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund have been carried out, under the direction of Prof. Naville, on the site of Deir el-Bahari. During both seasons Prof. Naville has been assisted by myself, and during the second season Mr. E. R. Ayrton, who had previously worked with Prof. Petrie at Abydos, and Mr. H. Garnett-Orme were associated with us in the work. By the kind permission of the Council of the Fund, I am enabled to describe the results of the excavations up to date.

The great temple of Hatshepsu at Deir el-Bahari, which was excavated ten years ago by Prof. Naville, assisted by Mr. D. G. Hogarth and others, is built in the northern portion of the circus of Deir el-Bahari. The southern portion was left unexcavated when the former work at Deir el-Bahari came to an end. It is this portion which is now being dug out, and, as is now well known, has yielded to Prof. Naville one of the most important discoveries made of late years in Egypt—an XIth dynasty temple in comparatively good preservation. This is the funerary temple of king Neb-hapet-Rā (formerly called Neb-kheru-Rā) Mentuhetep (III according to Prof. Petrie's numbering). It is the oldest temple at Thebes, where hitherto no temple-remains (other than a few XIIth dynasty blocks at Karnak) have been found of earlier date than the XVIIIth dynasty. It is, further, the best preserved of the older Egyptian temples. Remains of more ancient temples have been found, notably those (of the same funerary type) discovered at Abusir by the *Deutsch-Orient Gesellschaft*. But of these there remains above ground little but the lower courses of walls and the pavement, whereas at Deir el-Bahari we have besides this many of the colonnades in place. No portion of the roof remains in place at Deir el-Bahari any more than at Abusir. At both places the early temples have been the prey of the later spoiler, who deemed their stone good for his

purposes, and it is matter for congratulation not only that the actual fabric of the Deir el-Bahari Temple is in such good preservation as it is, but that so many comparatively large fragments of the reliefs which decorated its walls have been found. As was to be expected, these reliefs have told us a great deal that is new with regard to the condition of Egyptian art at the time of the XIth dynasty.

It is well known to every visitor to Deir el-Bahari that no portion of this XIth dynasty temple was visible above ground before the present excavations. The space to the south of the Great Temple was a waste of rubbish heaps which gave no inkling of what might lie beneath them. It was by some supposed that these rubbish-heaps were nothing but the "tips" of former excavations. These, however, were but on the surface; beneath them was ancient *debris*, and beneath this Prof. Naville hoped to find tombs of the XIth dynasty like those discovered during the former excavations, and, possibly, remains of buildings of the XIth dynasty, since blocks inscribed with the name of Mentuhetep III had been found here during the earlier excavations of Mariette and Maspero.

Both hopes were fulfilled: tombs have been found, containing interesting remains, and the building also, the position and size of which were entirely unknown, the blocks from it, mentioned above, having been found loose in the rubbish. This is the funerary temple of king Mentuhetep. It proved to be much larger and in better preservation than was expected.

The ancient name of the building was *Akh-Asut*, "Glorious are its Seats." On a fragment of a stela found during the excavations is the name of Aakheperka, priest of Hathor,  "in *Akh-asut*." From other sources¹ we know the name of Mentuhetep's tomb to have been  *Akh-asut*. Hathor was more especially worshipped at Deir el-Bahari, and the stela fragment was found in our temple, which is the funerary chapel of Mentuhetep III, which can therefore be nothing else than *Akh-asut*. It is to be noted that the word is in one case determined by a pyramid. Now when in the *Abbott Papyrus* the report on the tomb of this Mentuhetep is mentioned, it is spoken of as a *mer*  , a *pyramid*-

¹ Mariette, *Cat. Abydos*, No. 605.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TWO TEMPLES.



COMMENCEMENT OF EXCAVATION OF THE TEMPLE PLATFORM.

THE XITH DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.

tomb : 



Tjesret, "the pyramid-tomb of King Neb-hapet-Rā (life, wealth, health!), Son of the Sun, Mentuhetep (life, wealth, health!), which is in Tjesret: it was intact." (*Tjesret*, "the Holy Place," is Deir el-Bahari, and the two temples side by side seem to have been sometimes known as *Tjesserti*, "the Two Holy Places.")

The ancient literary evidence speaks then unequivocally of a pyramid in connection with this actual building which we are excavating: there is no room for any pyramid in *Tjesret* apart from Akh-Asut, which, as we have seen, is in one case determined in the hieroglyphs by a pyramid. Now the central feature of Akh-Asut, as far as we have excavated it, is a square erection, which I believe to be the base of this pyramid.

The two temples stand side by side. That of Mentuhetep was built in the centre of the strongly-marked depression in the cliff-face which is the chief feature of the southern half of the circus of Deir el-Bahari. That of Hatshepsu, in order to avoid the older temple, had to be crammed up against the straight cliff-face of the northern half, instead of being placed in the centre of the circus, as would no doubt have been done had the southern half been free. As it was, the Hathor-shrine was built up against the rock on the top of an XIth Dynasty masking-wall, which was partially destroyed to make way for it.

The main plan of both temples is marked by the same feature of platforms approached by ramps which are flanked by colonnades. The platforms and ramps were necessitated by the position: we find a somewhat similar arrangement of platforms in the small temple of Aahmes I at Abydos, excavated by Mr. Currelly for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1903, which is similarly reared up against a cliff-face. But at Abydos were neither ramps nor colonnades, as far as can be seen, and it seems to me to be very probable (though in an architectural matter of this kind I speak with diffidence) that these features in the Temple of Hatshepsut were copied from the corresponding features in the thousand-years' older Temple of Mentu-hetep, which the XVIIIth dynasty architects found already in occupation of the best part of Deir el-Bahari. Senmut had to

make his temple climb up the rocky foot-slope to the cliffs in which the speos-sanctuaries were to be excavated, and he imitated the design of the XIth dynasty architect which he saw before him, but on a grander scale. For the main fact in favour of this view is found in the colonnades which flank the ramps on either side and mask the rock-platforms. Ramps or steps would have been necessary in any case: it is in the colonnades that, if I may so express it, the *unnecessary* similarity of the two designs comes in. Mentuhetep's architect flanked his ramp by colonnades of square pillars, with walls, decorated with reliefs, to mark the side of his platform. Senmut, though under no necessity of so doing, did exactly the same thing, only on a much larger scale, and twice over: the XIth dynasty temple has only one platform and ramp with colonnades; the XVIIIth dynasty temple two platforms and ramps, and four colonnades. The general details of the colonnades are the same in both temples. The number of the pillars and their actual decoration is different; but their shape and arrangement is the same, and the wall masking the platforms is in both cases sculptured with reliefs, and has the same batter or slope in both. So that it seems to me that as far as the colonnades flanking the ramps are concerned, Hatshepsu's architects copied the older temple which lay immediately before their eyes.

But they copied this part of the design only: when we get on to the final platforms, the temples appear to have been as different as any two temples could possibly be. That of Hatshepsu has an open court in front of the rock-cut shrines, with the subsidiary halls on either hand; that of Mentuhetep had a square pyramid surrounded by a colonnade. This feature of the older temple Hatshepsu's architects had no need to copy, but the older design of the masking of the platform-face by colonades on either side of a central ramp they saw was good and imposing, and they adopted it with splendid results. It is when we get to the final platforms (the only platform in the older case) that divergence between the two temples begins.

From the foregoing it will have been gathered that the newly-discovered temple stands upon a rocky platform, which is approached from the ground-level on the East by a ramp flanked by colonnades of the same type as those in the great temple, and that in the centre of this platform stood a pyramid raised upon a square base, which was surrounded by a colonnade of eight-sided pillars.

The platform is artificially squared on all three sides; it is 15 to 18 feet in height. As far as it has been excavated, it is 130 feet







GRANITE THRESHOLD AND OCTAGONAL PILLARS.












PLATFORM AND PYRAMID-BASE.

THE XIXth DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL BAHARI.

long (East to West) by about 150 feet broad. An open court, 60 feet across, separates it from the Hathor-shrine of the great temple. The rock-face of the platform was masked towards the court by a wall of magnificent limestone blocks, finely cut and jointed, of which considerable portions remain in position. Some of the blocks measure 6 feet by 3 feet 6 inches; they are laid in bonded courses, broad and narrow alternately. At the Western end of the court a similar wall masks the face of the cliff-slope, joining the platform-wall at a sharp angle, which the workmen compared to the bows of a boat ("zê wahid dahabiya"). This wall, part of which is perfect, with its rounded coping stones (another little detail imitated—on a smaller scale this time—in the great temple) in place, runs North-East to the Hathor-shrine, and passes away under it: the Hathor-shrine was, as has been said, built over it. The court contained some XIth dynasty tombs and a curious little erection of brick, which was probably the hut of a watchman or *ghafir* set to guard the tombs. The East boundary of the court is marked by an XVIIIth dynasty wall (broken down in the centre), which connects the two temples.

Immediately East and South of this boundary wall is the North lower colonnade of the Mentuhetep temple, masking the Northern half of the artificially squared East face of the platform. It has two rows each of thirteen pillars (originally 11 or 12 feet high), every one inscribed alternately with the throne-name   and the personal name   of king Mentuhetep.

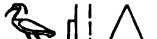
The throne name has hitherto been read *Neb-kheru-Rā*, but we have in the ruins found the throne-name of a king Mentuhetep spelt   *Neb-hapet-Rā*, and Mr. Griffith has suggested to me

(and I think he is right) that these names are really one and the same, the second being a variant spelling of the first, and both reading *Neb-hapet-Rā*, the  of the first being in reality not the 'voice'-sign *kheru*, but the 'oar'-sign, which has the same value as the mason's square , *hapet*. This suggestion is confirmed by instances found in the temple of the name being spelt    , which must be *Neb-hapet-Rā*, as the  would be meaningless were

the word really *kheru*: the same spelling is found in the Abbott Papyrus Report about the condition of the tomb.

The South colonnade is similar to the Northern one, but is not in such good preservation. A Southern court exists beyond this to the South of the platform and is bounded by a similar wall. The general temenos wall of the temple outside the courts, ramp, and colonnades has been traced by Mr. Ayrton.

The ramp leads up to the threshold of the East door of the temple on the platform. This threshold is of finely polished granite blocks, resting on sandstone foundations, and measures 9 feet by 5 feet. It admits immediately into the colonnade of octagonal pillars already mentioned which surround the central pyramid. The pillars are small and thin, and the intercolumniations are very narrow, measuring only 7 feet from centre to centre of the bases. Each is inscribed with Mentuhetep's name. There are three rows of these pillars on each side of the pyramid.

This pyramid, if it is a pyramid, is the salient feature of the temple, and measures 60 feet square. What remains now is the core of its base, built of heavy flint nodules from the hills, the lower courses of the fine white limestone facing are extant at the North-Western corner only. The facing had a slight batter; at the corners were the usual Egyptian torus, and several fragments of the cavetto cornice of the usual type have been found. That is to say, the erection was pyloniform. This pylon-like erection I believe to have been the base of the pyramid of Akh-asut . The excavations are not yet

completed, and we may yet find another building which may have a better claim to be the actual pyramid, but there seems no room for a building of any size between the present Western limit of the excavations and the cliff. However, the finds up to the present have been so unexpected, that it is as well not to be too positive in advance. All that can be said is that there was a pyramid here, and that, as far as we can tell at present, this central erection seems to be it.

As however no trace of the pyramidal upper works has actually been found, it has been suggested that it may have been a great altar, like that found by Prof. Naville in the great temple, but on a far larger scale. But against this is the fact that there is no ramp or steps leading up to its summit from the platforms, as there would have to be were it an altar. That it was an erection surmounted



NORTHERN LOWER COLONNADE.



COLONNADE PILLAR WITH NAME OF NEB-HAPET-RĀ.
THE XIth DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI.

by an obelisk, like that in the Vth Dynasty-Temple of the Sun at Abu Ghuraib, near Abûsîr, is entirely improbable. Râ was not specially venerated at Thebes or by this dynasty, nor would such an erection have anything to do with a funerary temple, whereas a pyramid would be entirely appropriate to such. It seems then to be a justifiable conclusion that what we have found is the base of a pyramidal erection, like the tomb-chapels depicted in the Book of the Dead and evidently characteristic of the Theban necropolis, which are pyloniform, with a pyramid above them (*cf.* PERROT-CHAPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, i (Egypte), figs. 187-190. Fig. 188 especially, with its detached door in front, shows what the central erection of the temple probably looked like when complete). In connection with this, Mr. Somers Clarke has made an interesting suggestion. He thinks that it is possible that the original of the pyramidal tomb-chapel depicted in the well-known vignette in the Book of the Dead of the Hathor-cow coming out of the Western Mountain, was very probably this very pyramid at Deir el-Bahari, which is especially connected with Hathor-worship (the goddess was venerated in this actual temple); the hills of the vignette will then be intended for the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari.

The North-East corner of the pyramid-base was found at the close of the first season's excavations. It seemed to me then to be in all probability the corner of the pyramid which ought to exist in Akh-asut. On recommencing work in the second season (October, 1904), I set the men at once to clear it and the colonnades surrounding it. The work was not completed when I had to return to England, my two months' leave from the British Museum having nearly expired. Mr. Ayrton finished the clearance of the fourth (Western) side, which showed that it was neither a second platform nor an altar, and removed the rubbish from the top. When Prof. Naville arrived, in February, the interior of the erection was excavated, in the hope of reaching the royal tomb, but no trace of a tomb was found, the rock in the centre being covered by a square pavement of what Dr. Schweinfurth pronounced to be blocks of a form of rock-salt. This is a very curious feature.

The apparent absence of a tomb raises a very interesting possibility. Does the pyramid, if it is a pyramid, cover the actual burial-place of Mentuhetep at all? Is it not more probable that the king was actually buried in a rock-tomb in the vicinity, the central erection of the funerary temple being not a real pyramid in which

the king was buried, but a sham pyramid put up partly to mislead later tomb-robbers,² partly as an architectural feature of the temple? In the old days at Abusir the kings had been buried in actual pyramids, in front of which small funerary temples were erected in their honour. Here at Deir el-Bahari, under the XIth dynasty, we find a pyramid, beneath which the king was probably not buried at all, in the midst of the funerary temple, which is now larger than the pyramid, and has surrounded it on all sides. Does it not seem probable that this sham pyramid is a mere reminiscence of the funerary architecture of former days, and that the real burial-place of king Mentuhetep was a rock-tomb? The pyramid has shrunk, become atrophied, and a mere architectural survival in the midst of the temple; the real tomb being elsewhere.

It is at least possible that the real tomb of the king may lie in the cliff at the back of the temple. It is probably not the *Bab el Hosân*, the royal tomb of the XIth dynasty, which was excavated by Mr. Carter in 1899³, as the only fragment of an inscription found in this tomb commemorates another king of the dynasty, Neb-hetep⁴ Mentuhetep (I, according to Prof. Petrie), whose name occurs once or twice in the temple of Neb-hapet-Râ.






Behind the pyramid, on the platform, is a row of shrines of priestesses of Hathor, who were buried here. Some of the tombs are immediately behind the shrines, others are in the outer colonnade of the platform, to which I shall refer presently. Behind the tombs come the present Western limit of the excavations, but the platform and pillars continue, and the boundary wall of the platform turns Westward to lead up to something at the base of the cliffs. May not this be the shrine of the king himself, and judging by the analogy of the relation of the shrines of the priestesses to their tombs, may not the real tomb of the king perhaps lie beyond this?

This question will be settled when the excavations are continued.

The tombs of the priestesses lie outside the inner temple, the pyramid-base and its surrounding colonnade. This is again surrounded by a wall of limestone blocks, the faces of which are

² We may compare the sham mastabas in front of the tomb of Usertsen III at Abydos, which were built for this purpose (WEIGALL, *Abydos*, iii, p. 18).

³ *Annales du Service*, ii, 201-205.

⁴ Nash, *P.S.B.A.*, XXII, 292-3; Naville and Hall, *E.E.F. Report*, 1903 4. p. 8, note. Since writing that note I have myself seen the inscribed box at Cairo, and agree that the name is not   , and is very probably  .

sculptured with reliefs, numerous fragments of which, still preserving their original brilliant colour, have been found. They depict incidents of the *sed-heb* festival, processions of magnates and warriors, men driving cattle, gathering reeds, and so forth. The similar reliefs of the lower colonnades on either side of the ramp represent processions of boats. Those of the shrines of the priestesses represent these personages and their attendants, Hathor-cows, *etc.* These reliefs are of the highest interest, as they tell us more of the art of the XIth dynasty than had ever been known before. They vary in artistic quality, some fulfilling our traditional idea of the rude work of the XIth dynasty, while others are of very fine work, like the best XIIth dynasty. These last may well be the work of the sculptor Mertisen, who flourished in the reign of Neb-hapet-Rā, and his school. Mertisen tells us on his funerary tablet (C. 14 of the Louvre) that he knew how to depict people in motion properly, the walking of a man and the carriage of a woman, "the poising of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner," *etc.*, and that no man shared this knowledge with him but his eldest son, whose work in all kinds of stone, wood, and ivory he had seen and approved. Since Mertisen and his son were the chief artists of their day, it seems at least probable that they were employed to decorate their king's funerary chapel, and that it is to them that we owe much of the good XIth dynasty work at Deir el-Bahari. This gives a personal interest to these reliefs which is usually lacking in Egypt, as we generally know little or nothing of the artists who created the ancient works which we admire. The character of Mertisen's work (if it is his) is very interesting. It would seem that just as the Egyptian State owed its new centre of government, and its renaissance after administrative chaos, to the Theban house of which Neb-hapet-Rā was the most prominent monarch, so Egyptian art owed its renaissance to the Theban artists of his time; and just as we see the Egyptian State in a condition of incomplete renaissance in their time, so also we see Egyptian art in a state of incomplete renaissance. The high relief of some of the shrine sculptures, especially the hieroglyphs, has hitherto not been known, and is of a most remarkable style. Some of the figures and portraits are extremely good, but others show an awkwardness at which an Egyptian artist of the succeeding dynasty would have smiled, and which a sculptor of the XVIIIth dynasty would have regarded as hopelessly old-fashioned.

The same old-fashioned appearance belongs to the sculpture of

the remarkable white limestone sarcophagus of the Hathor-priestess Kauit, which was found in her tomb, behind the shrines, and is now at Cairo. The *cavi-relievi* depict the bringing of offerings to Kauit, the milking of the Hathor-cows, *etc.* This was the most remarkable portable antiquity found, and it is unique of its kind. The remains of the similar, but unfinished, sarcophagus of another priestess, a negress named Kemsit, have been brought back to England with her mummy, the skull of which is characteristically negroid. The walls of the chamber of Kemsit's tomb were decorated with paintings, in which she appears as a black woman. The tombs had all been violated by ancient tomb-robbers, but the remains of much of the ancient tomb-furniture have been found, especially of the wooden models of boats, granaries, with work-people, *etc.*, which were usually placed in tombs of this age, in order that they might turn into ghostly boats and men, to serve the dead in the next world. Of these the most remarkable was a model of a combined baking and brewing establishment, found last year, and now exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room of the British Museum, Case 188 (No. 40915). In the tombs of Kemsit and Kauit were found small model coffins with wax figures of the dead priestesses inside them. These are probably an early form of ushabti.

All these tombs are contemporary with the founding of the temple. They are excavated in the rock of the platform and court, and the pavement of the former is placed over them, being supported in one case by tree-trunks placed across the mouth of the pit.

Some of them were placed not behind (Westward of) the shrines, but on the North side of the platform, outside the wall of the pyramid-hall or colonnade (the wall from which the reliefs came). Here, and on the East side of the platform as well, there are the bases of a double row of square pillars, which show that there was on the North and East sides of the temple an outer upper colonnade looking out on the North court and over the lower Eastern colonnades. This is a peculiar feature.

This year's diggings have been fruitful in important later sculpture as well as the XIth dynasty relief fragments and sarcophagi. Near the ramp were discovered sandstone Osiride figures of King Amen-hetep I, and possibly Neb-hapet-Rā, one of which, ten feet high, has been brought back to England. A fragment of an XVIIIth dynasty stela has been found on which the making of offerings to these very statues is depicted. In the South Court were found six black granite

statues of King Usertsen III, of the XIIth dynasty, depicting the king at different periods of his life, from youth to age. The portraits are executed with the care characteristic of the dynasty, and show the same type, which used to be called "Hyksos," as the portraits of Amenemhat III. It is most probable that this type is purely Egyptian and Nilotic in its origin. Another important find is an alabaster cow's head, of beautiful work, which I should ascribe to the XVIIIth dynasty. I found it a few days after beginning the work this season. Its eyes were once inlaid with lapis lazuli, and its horns and ears were probably of silver. It probably is the head of an image of the Hathor-cow preserved in Hatshepsu's temple, broken, and thrown out on to the ruined older temple, which at one time seems to have served as a dust-heap for the new one.

To this fact we owe many of the small finds which characterised the first season's work. In the Hathor-shrine of the great temple were dedicated hundreds of little *ex-votos* of the fellahin pottery, incense-burners and figures of cows, little bronze plaques with incised representations of the Hathor-cow, rude figures of Hathor-priestesses, votive eyes and ears of faïence for the cure of blindness and deafness, bead necklaces, scarabs, *etc.* When the sanctuary was too full of these things, or they were damaged and broken, the sacristans got rid of them by throwing them over the wall into the court of the XIth dynasty temple, which became a dust-heap. This dust-heap we cleared during the first season's work, and many of the *ex-votos* found are now exhibited in the North Gallery (Semitic Room) of the British Museum.

The temple seems to have been considerably repaired by Rameses II, and by Siptah, one of the last kings of the XIXth dynasty, who cut a relief depicting himself in an attitude of prayer (to the Hathor-cow?) on the west facing of the pyramid. To him, or to Rameses II, may be due the additional brick piers in the north lower colonnade, which were evidently placed there in order to support a falling roof.

Thus it will be seen that the work at Deir el-Bahari is of a most interesting character, and has produced most important results.

It is for many reasons most desirable that the excavation of this, the oldest known, Theban temple should be continued without delay or intermission, and it is to be hoped that sufficient money may be placed at the disposal of the Egypt Exploration Fund for the purpose.

HIMYARITIC OBJECTS FROM THE LOWER YAFI VALLEY.

Belonging to MAJOR MEREWETHER, *R.E.*

The objects shown on the accompanying Plates were found in the Lower Yafi Valley, and brought to Major Merewether, *R.E.*, Political Agent at Aden, who kindly allows me to publish them. The drawings were made by Lieut. Yule, *R.E.*, and the position of the Lower Yafi Valley will be found on the map given with the account of his discovery of a Himyaritic Inscription (see *Proceedings*, XXVII, p. 154, Plate I). I hope later on to be able to give a translation of the inscriptions which appear on some of the objects.

W. L. NASH.

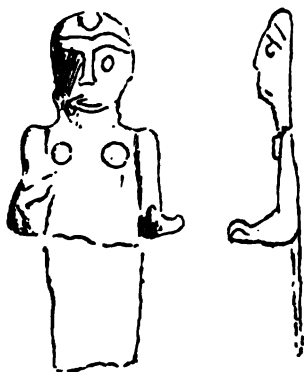
FIG.

PLATE I.

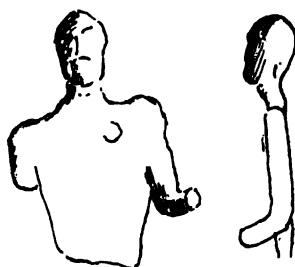
1. Bronze Figure.
2. " "
3. " "
4. Polished marble Pebble, roughly shaped like a bull's head.
Pierced for suspension.
5. Bronze Signet Ring. Incised characters.
6. Square Charm, made of lacquered bronze. Engraved on two
sides. Inscription very roughly cut.
7. Bronze Seal. The shaded parts are incised.
8. Bronze object, shaped like a foot. Inscription deeply cut.
Face smooth but not polished.

PLATE II.

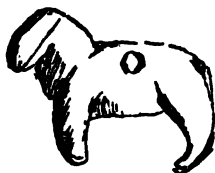
9. A Charm, made of cream-coloured limestone. One side is much
worn, probably from rubbing on the wearer's skin.
10. A Bead, made of glazed pottery.
11. Part of bronze Needle.
12. Copper Coin, much clipped.
13. Bead, green glass, or translucent pebble, with incised bull's head.
14. Scarab; grey pottery.
15. Copper Coin (actual size).
16. Enlarged copy of 15, to show the inscription.
17. Bead of polished pebble. Much worn. Inscription illegible.
18. Bronze Bead. Engraved and lacquered.



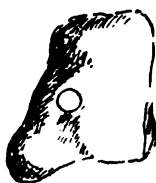
I.



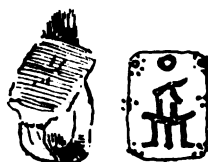
II.



III.



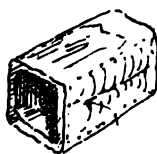
IV.



V.



VII.

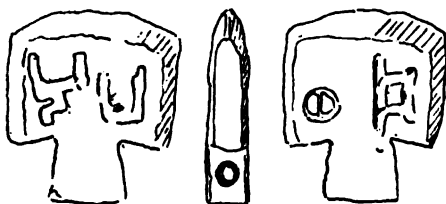


VI.

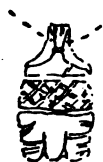


VIII.

HIMYARITIC OBJECTS FROM THE LOWER YAFI VALLEY,
Belonging to Major MEREWETHER, R.E.



IX.



X.



XI.



XII.



XIII.



XIV.



XV.



XVI.



XVII.



XVIII.

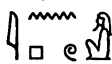

HIMYARITIC OBJECTS FROM THE LOWER YAFI VALLEY,

Belonging to Major MEREWETHER, R.E.

THE HERO OF THE PAPYRUS D'ORBINEY.

BY ALAN H. GARDINER.

No Egyptian text has been more diligently studied than the "Tale of the Two Brothers," and there are few details either of its contents or of its language that have not been amply illustrated. Yet the problem as to the name of the hero Bata is still unsolved; at least only a negative conclusion has been reached with regard to it. The questions to be asked are as follows: is the name purely imaginary, and invented by the author of the story? and if not, who was Bata?

To the first question a negative answer has been rightly given: there are several reasons for thinking that Bata must have been a well-known character with the public who listened to his adventures. There can be no doubt, as M. MASPERO¹ points out, that the elder brother  is the god Anubis. Moreover, the name  is written with the determinative of gods or revered personages. Lastly, the story ends with the accession of Bata to the throne of Egypt. It is hardly likely that an Egyptian storyteller would thus add a new king to the crowded ranks of the Pharaohs without some warrant from legendary history. However, no reference to Bata had hitherto been discovered in any other Egyptian text: and the supposition of LAUTH,² that he is to be identified with the mythical king Bydis (Bites) mentioned by an ancient chronicler, is a brilliant and even probable, yet wholly unproven, conjecture.

More than twenty years ago Prof. ERMAN published³ from a photograph a hieratic ostrakon in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, containing a poem that is now well-known. It enumerates in turn all the different parts of the war-chariot (מרכבה), and plays upon each with a pun usually extolling the might of Pharaoh, but sometimes containing a mythological allusion.

¹ In his brilliant essay in the introduction to the *Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*.

² *Ägyptische Chronologie*, p. 30.

³ *Ä.Z.*, 18 (1880), pp. 94, 95.

NOTE ON THE ARAMAIC PAPYRUS FROM ELEPHANTINE.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS.

This very interesting document was published by Mr. A. E. Cowley in this Society's *Proceedings* (Vol. XXV, pp. 202 ff., 1903). We owe the approximate understanding of it to the labours of those scholars who have already worked upon it from the Aramaic point of view. An excellent summary of their results will be found in Mr. G. A. Cooke's *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Appendix II, pp. 404-7, and it is not proposed here to suggest any emendations, but only a confirmation. The difficult word נבז, in line 6, has already been conjectured to mean a "written receipt (?)," as suggested by its context; but, so far as I know, no other occurrence of the word has been noted. It seems to be the Assyrian *nibzu*, which, however, does not yet appear in our Lexicons. In Prof. R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum*, Part VI, No. 633, K. 1366, pp. 684-5, Rev. 13-14, we read, *abišu ša šarri bêlia kaspu KU-KAR ša amêlê rêê ina libbi ni-ib-zi Aššurai ina libbi ni-ib-zi Armai isațaru*: which may be rendered:—"the father of the king, my lord, had the money due from the shepherds written in an Assyrian *nibzu* and in an Aramaic *nibzu*," that is, probably, in two *nibzê*, duplicates, one written in Assyrian, the other in Aramaic. It is less likely to mean in two documents, one drawn up in Assyrian style, the other in the Aramaic style. We know from the Aramaic "reference notes" scratched on legal documents, from the time of Sargon or Sennacherib onwards, that Aramaic characters were used in Nineveh along with the cuneiform; and in another letter published by Prof. Harper (No. 872), we read of an "Aramaic letter," *egirtu Armiti*, of the time of Shalmaneser II.

The word *nibzu* occurs elsewhere, e.g., in Prof. Harper's No. 798, l. 4, where we read of a *nibzu ša êkalli*, but none of the references seems to give any further elucidation of its meaning. It can hardly mean anything else here than a written acknowledgement of in-

debtedness or obligation. For the word *KU-KAR*, which seems to be ideographic, Prof. P. Jensen's note in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. VI¹, p. 535, may be consulted. It seems "an account," whether in narrative form, as a history, poem, or even series of tablets, or as memorandum of things lent or entrusted to some one, or deposited anywhere. It is used in the legal documents of the Nineveh archives for lists of garments, utensils, etc. These lists may of themselves have implied obligation, to repair, or return the listed articles, but it is safer to say that *KU-KAR* means "an account." When used with reference to silver it probably means the amount due. We know from the code of Hammurabi, § 263 ff, that shepherds gave a sort of receipt for the animals entrusted to them to take out to pasture, which was a *KU-KAR*, and the examples from Nineveh show that the value of their trust was estimated in money, they giving a bond to return the animals with proper increase, or pay cash for the loss due to their remissness. If we should rely on this passage alone, we might deduce that *KU-KAR* was the ideogram for *nibzu*, but either term may have been wider in meaning than such an equation would allow. It would not do to suppose that when *KU-KAR* meant a "story," it was read *nibzu*.

The letter (No. 633) from which this extract is taken is very interesting, and deserves special study on other accounts. The name of Bi'li-raḳabbi of Sama'al recalls the Bar-rekub of Zendschirli. Ḥalbišu, the Samaritan, and the Yahweh names Neri-Jau, Pulḫi-Jau, suggest Israelites. The district Gozan hints at these being members of the Ten Tribes. The letter has many rare words and unusual expressions, and is, moreover, incomplete. Its date appears to be late in Ašurbanipal's reign, or even under one of his sons. But this note is already too long, and someone with the requisite time and knowledge may be tempted to take up the enquiry into the events related.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, November 8th, 1905, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., F.B.A.: "The Early Monarchy of Egypt."

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VOL. XXVII. THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, November 8th, 1905.

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THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1905.

Sixth Meeting, November 8th, 1905.

F. LEGGE, ESQ.

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

October 25th, 1905.—MAJOR-GENERAL SIR C. W.
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The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, The Rev. F. A. Jones.—“Observations upon Inscription of Nabonidus, concerning Naram Sin’s Foundation Stone.”

From the Publishers, The Religious Tract Society.—“The Bible and Babylon,” by Dr. E. König. Translated from the German by The Rev. W. T. Pilter, with a preface by The Very Rev. Dr. Wace.

From the Author, Dr. A. Boissier.—“Notes sur la nouvelle publication des Textes Divinatoires du British Museum.”

From the Author, Dr. A. Boissier.—“Choix de Textes relatifs à la divination Assyro-Babylonienne.”

From the Author, Jean Capart.—“Primitive Art in Egypt.” Translated from the French by A. S. Griffith.

From W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*—“Bulletin de la Société d’Anthropologie de Lyon.” Vols. I–XXII.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann, “Quelques Remarques sur le Culte des Animaux en Égypte.”

From the Author, Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg.—“Le Dieu Souwâ.”

From the Author, J. Capart.—“Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens.” Part II.

From the Author, Dr. E. Glaser.—“Suwâ‘ und al-‘Uzzâ.”

From The Oxford University Press.—“Astronomy in the Old Testament.” By G. Schiaparelli.

The Rev. Father Lagier, Cairo, Egypt,

Miss Crewdson, Woburn Sands,

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Mrs. Percival Hart, Grove Lodge, Highgate,

were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

PROFESSOR W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *F.R.S., F.B.A.*: “The Early Monarchy of Egypt.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS TRANSLATED AND
ANNOTATED.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, D.D.

The time has now arrived when the task of deciphering the Hittite inscriptions is sufficiently far advanced to allow me to give connected translations of them. That the translations conform to the demands both of a consistent grammar and of common sense is one of the best proofs which can be adduced of the correctness of my decipherment. Other proofs and verifications will be found in the notes attached to them. The translations are not, of course, in all places equally certain or probable; with the increase of our materials improvements and corrections will inevitably come. Nor are all the inscriptions we possess capable of translation, some of them being too fragmentary and others too imperfectly copied.

The numeration is that of Dr. L. Messerschmidt in his *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, I, 2 (Peiser, Berlin, 1900-1902), and the texts are those published by him except where it is otherwise stated.

In several instances I have been able to examine the original monuments which are preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, one of the finest and best organised museums in the world. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to H.E. Hamdy Bey for his courtesy and the generosity with which he placed at my disposal not only the Hittite inscriptions which have been already published, but also those of which no copies have as yet been made public, or refrain from recording my admiration of the scientific manner in which the treasures of the museum have been arranged and of the facilities afforded to scholars for studying them. In the case of the Hittite texts a minute examination of the originals is indispensable. I found when I came to examine the originals that

the best casts and photographs are at times faulty and even misleading.

M. I, 3. On a stone bowl from Bagdad, now in the British Museum :

wa-is-a KAI¹-ka-i-wan uena-akasu-mis-(i)si. WÂ ID.-wan
This work of the stone-cutters, (namely) this bowl

DET.-Sanda-w-i i-us-i-ta DET.-a-tu-na-a-i KAI-wa
for the god Sandes in the shrine the Atunian I have made

DET. Isi- Tarkus DET. a-na-a(m)-amma-mis A-na-m-a-tu
(I) Is-Tarkus, of the royal land, for the great prince :

ID.-a isi-mâ-i-wa ghalu-i-mes ka-KASU-s-mâ DET. i-US-i-DET
a food altar (?) having provided for the shrine

DET.-Khal-MA-m-m-isi DET.-Kar-qa-mâ-isi.
of the son of the goddess Khalma the Carchemishian god.

The Malatiyeh inscription (M. XVI A.) similarly begins with *wa-is-a* "This gate I set up"; an accusative (?) in *-sa* is found in the Arzawa and Boghaz-Keui texts, and we have *unnu-uk-a-su . . . ka-ID.-mi-is-sa am-a-mis*, "I have built of stone the gates of the city," in M. XXXI, C. 2. The boot has the phonetic value of *wi* as well as of *mi*, and can be used for simple *w*, at all events before *i*. Here, however, it must represent *yi* or *i*, since the stem of the verb "to make" is *kai*, not *ka*; hence I read *ka-i-wan*.



My copy of the inscription has the suffixed *u* attached to the character *isi* in the next word, making it *isu*. The signification of the word is reached in this way: In M. II, 3, 4 (on which see note), mention is made of "stone," "wood," and "brick," which are expressed ideographically. In M. II, 6, and XX, 2, the ideograph of "stone" takes the place of *uena* (or *una*) in the word on the bowl; so also in M. XXIV A (*ID.-akasu-wi A-tu-a-i*, "of a great stone"). The phonetic reading of the word is given on the obelisk of Izgin (M. XIX, C. 4), where we have *am-a kam-uas un(nu)-nu-kas-u-mis*, "who has built of stone the gates of the city." *Mis-isi* must be read *-missi* (or *-missu*), and represents the suffixes *-mi*

¹ Capitals denote ideographs; where the pronunciation of the ideograph is unknown ID. is written. DET. means Determinative.

"belonging to a place" or "thing," and *-si* "son of," "derived from," "belonging to." As for *uena*, it is accompanied by the phonetic reading *unna* or *uanna* in M. IX, 5 (on which see note). The unpublished inscription from Erzerûm (CONSTANTINOPLE, 1193) ends with the word *uena-mis-akasu*, where the other examples of it indicate that we should read *uena-ukasu-mis*, unless, indeed, *mis* is used as the determinative of an "artificial work," as in M. IX, 4.

A comparison with the form *Sanda-wa* (M. XXXII, 2) makes it clear that the boot must here have the value of *w* or *wi*, though in the genitive-dative of *unna* or *wanna*, "god," when compared with other genitive-datives in *-a-i*, it must represent a simple *i* (M. IX, 1, XXI, 3). *Sandaw-a* and *Sandaw-i*, however, explain the Greek Σανδω-ν for Σανδαφ-ον.²

That *i-us-i* or *i-was-i* signifies "shrine" or "chapel" I have long since pointed out, but it is only lately I have perceived that it is identical in root with *isi-ma* "a high-place," and the character *is* which is the picture of an altar standing on the ground. Whether we should read *i-is-i*, or whether *isi* and *is* are contracted from *iusi* and *ius* I do not know.

Atu is the phonetic equivalent of the ideographic   "great" (literally "dirk-bearer of the land"), which it often replaces. *Atu-na* is "the land of the great one," "the royal land"; hence the country of *Atuna* in the Assyrian inscriptions. *Atunai* is the adjective agreeing with *Sandawi*. With *-wa*, the suffix of the first person of the verb, compare the Vannic *-bi* and the Mitannian *-u* and *-wa*. By the side of *-wa* or *-ua* we find *-u*, as in *unnukasu* "I have built of stone" (M. XXXI, C. 2). The name of the god is denoted by the trident which represents the name of the principal god at Boghaz-Keui. As the latter is accompanied by a goat, I suppose him to be the goat-god Tarkus. With *Isi-Tarkus* compare the name *Is-kalla*.

² In certain cases the boot seems to have no phonetic value at all, and yet not to be used ideographically. In *wa-mi-m-a* (M. XI, 4) I have supposed it to be either a determinative or else to have its ideographic value of *amma*. But neither hypothesis is possible in the following instance:—In an unpublished inscription at Constantinople (1193, 3) we have: DIV. (a)*tu-u-uan* DIV. DET. (of god) *Uan-nas-u-su-uan*. Now on the obelisk of Izgin, also at Constantinople (M. XIX, C. 8), we have precisely the same words, but written (on the original) DET. (of god) *Uan-nâ-mi-a-su-m a-tu-DET.* . . "great place of wood (?)." Here it is difficult to see what value can be assigned to *MI* (the boot).

With *anam-atu* comp. *naw-atu* "the great entrance" (M. XLVI, 2), and *anamis anamê atui* "prince of great princes" (M. XXI, 4). The ideograph which I have translated "food" is conjoined with the picture of a heap of corn, represented as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, in M. XXI, 4, and appears to be a simpler form of the sacred cake (*khal*), which is distinguished from it by certain marks on its face. In CONSTANTINOPLE 1193 *uena-mis-akasu* is preceded by this ideograph with the phonetic complement *-mi-u*. *Isi-mâi-wa* (or *mâi-ya*, for, after *i*, *wa* and *was* were perhaps pronounced *ya* and *yas*) is literally "high-places"; for the termination cp. the Arzawan *-iya*. "The high-place where food was eaten" in honour of the gods would be the sacred banqueting-hall referred to in the Vannic inscriptions.

Khal, denoted by a picture of the sacred cake, would mean "to nourish," "support," "provide," whence perhaps the name of the goddess Khalma, "the nourisher" (?), like Nana the "corn"-goddess. In M. XXI, 4 we have the ideograph of a heap of corn followed by the phonetic spelling *gha-[li]-mu-me-š-i* (*ghali-mu-ši*) "of the corn-providers."³

It was not till some time after I had discovered the word *kasmâ* or *kasumâ* and determined its meaning that I noticed that, thanks to Dr. Knudtzon's corrections of the texts, one of the few words in Arzawan the meaning of which is known with certainty is *kasma*, "for." It is there followed by the genitive-dative in *-i* (*kasma bibbi*, "for a chariot") as in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts. Thus here we have *kasmâ iusi*, and in M. XXI, 5 *kasumâ Sanda-mišši ammi*, "for the land of the people of Sandes." Could there be a better verification of my decipherment of the Hittite texts?

For Khalammes, the Assyrian Akhlamê, and Kar-qa-mâ-isi see my last paper. Karqamaisi probably stands for Karqamais-si like Sanda-pi for Sanda-dapi. Sandes in M. II and I, 5 is identified with the Syrian Hadad, who according to Shalmaneser II was the god of Khalma-n or Aleppo.

M. XXXI, A.—On a stone at Agrak, 25 miles E. of Kaisariyeh. The "copies" of this inscription taken by Armenians and published by Messerschmidt are worthless; a good photograph of it has now

³ In an unpublished inscription (CONSTANTINOPLE 837) *khal-u-i-mes* is represented by *gha-lu-mes*, where *lu* is expressed by No. 53 (the stand), which in *Is-khar* appears to have the ideographic value of *khar*.

been made by Dr. Belck. My copy has been made from the original at Constantinople (No. 1217) :—

San(da)-da-au-i-š <i>The Sandian</i>	San(da)-da-uau-gha-š <i>Sandaughas (Sandôkês)</i>	ara-me-s <i>the king</i>
ANA-na-NA-a-wa-s <i>the powerful,</i>	DET. a-MMA-mis <i>of the land</i>	ana-me-š <i>the prince,</i>
		DET. au-me-s <i>the priest</i>
atu-i-mis <i>of the goddess Atu,</i>	kai-wi-nas- u -wa <i>I have constructed</i>	DET. na-m <i>this</i>
DET. ID-DET <i>sacred column</i>	DET. Ka-si-. (line 2) .-a-si-DET. <i>for the people of Kas.</i>	

*Sandaui*s like *Khattais* "the Hittite" (M. III, B. 2) or *Tarkhais* "the Tarkhian" in the Egyptian geographical lists. It does not mean "attached to the god Sandes" so much as "belonging to the country the god of which is Sandes." The form Sandau, gen. Sandau-a, explains the Greek Σάνδω-ν. Cp. *Sanda-w-i* above.

Sandaughas is the Greek Sandôkês (for Sandawokês), Hdt. VII, 194. -*Ghas* may be a suffix; at all events in M. IV, A. 3 *Na-~~u~~-ghas* appears to signify "from the land of N." If so, we should have an explanation of the name of Agapta-kha, a refugee from Malatiyeh, to whom land was granted in Susa (Scheil: *Textes élamites-semitiques*, II, p. 95). Agapta or Agupta is known to us from the Egyptian monuments as a city in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Antioch.


Aumes or *aymes* forms the first element in the name of the Tyanian king Aym(e)-galas, the Aingolas of Greek inscriptions. The word probably denotes some kind of priest.

That the cushion sometimes represented the name of the goddess Amma or Mamma I have pointed out in a previous paper. It had, however, the value of *atu*. We may gather this from M. XXXI, C. 1. [*Tuan*]-a-na-s DET. a-na-s *Uan-atu-mi-is* "the Tyanian, prince of the land of the Eneti." That *Uan-atu* must be read here results from a comparison with the Tyana and Ivriz texts. In M. VI, 1, moreover, the London cast reads for the name of Hamath, AM-ama-ma-atu, where *atu* is denoted by the cushion. Consequently the goddess Amma must also have been known by the name of Atu "the great one." This is a surprising fact, since according to the classical writers it was her son Atys who was thus designated. But as long

ago as my Paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites" in the *Trans. S.B.A.*, VII, 2 (1881), I pointed out that the goddess of Carchemish must have been called Athê, and since then the name has been found in *Atu-kalna* and *Ata-kal*, *At-banti*, *Aitua* (*Aitu-wa*), *Atu-ba*, *Athi-ni*, *Ata-mâ* and *Atta-mâ* ("the place of Ata"), names of towns near Carchemish mentioned in the geographical list of Thothmes III, as well as in *Eta-kama* or *Aita-gama* the name of a Hittite chieftain in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. According to Stephanus Byzantinus "the Syrians" used *ἰθας* or *ἰτη* to denote "god." Hittite or Syrian exiles deported by the Assyrian kings carried the name of *Atu* ('*Ati*') with them to Adiabene east of the Tigris. The suffix *-mis* denotes "belonging to" or "of the land of."

The next word seems to be a compound, the first element of which is *kaiwi* or *kaimi*, "made," "work." The phonetic value of the animal's head which follows *nas* is unknown to me. It represents the name of a deity in M. XLII, 5. Can it be *su*?

The character which expresses *na* (or *wana*?) in the demonstrative *nam* must be added to my list of signs. Its value is given in M. XLVI, 2, where the ideograph of the demonstrative is in one instance followed (as in M. XI, 4, 5) by *na*, and in the second instance by the character in question. As there were two demonstratives *wa* and *na* (or *nam*), as well as *wana*, which seems a compound of the other two, I should hesitate whether to read *nam* or *wanam*, were it not that we so frequently find *namâ* ("of this (god)," M. XXIII, A. 4), *namâtê* (M. XI, 4), *namis* (M. XXXII, 5). The demonstrative may follow its noun, in which case it loses the *m*-suffix or changes the first vowel into *i*: M. XI, 5 "this (*na* or *wana*) sacred column of this (*nimâ*) shrine." *Na* (or *wana*) without the *m*-suffix may also be used before its noun.

The first character in the name *Kâ-si* must be added to my list of signs. As the other Hittite inscriptions of Cappadocia show that the country was called *Kas*, we may conjecture that the syllable preceding *si* is *ka*, and the conjecture is verified by M. XX, 2: *ka*--*a-mâ*, where it is glossed by *ka-a*. The new character is a simplified form of that which represents *Katu* (No. 41).

After *Ka-si* there is a fracture of the stone with space for two characters. At the beginning of the next line one character (less probably two) is lost, and *a-si* is followed by the determinative of "man" (ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS 95). This was possibly preceded by *mi*, since the suffix *mis*, with the syllable *mi* represented by

the boot (as ideographically denoting "the earth") signifies "belonging to the land of." On one of the Boghaz Keui cuneiform tablets copied by Dr. Pinches we read: ALU *Kha-iz-zi* NU AMIL GIS-PA *atu-us la (?) -li (?) mi-kat (?) -ta (?) -an Qu-mi-e-iz-zi* "to the scribe of the city of Kha the king has sent the tribute(?) of the people of Qu." In a parallel passage we have: *ba-a-an atu-us* ALU *A-ri-in-na-as* ALU *Kha-at-tu-si-pa-iz-zi* NU AMIL GIS-PA *la-li sir-ri-di-is sa-an-khal-sa-a-kis*⁴ "this the king of Arinna has sent to the scribe of the city of Khattu-sipa" The suffix *-mis* "belonging to the land of" must be distinguished from that other *-mis* which goes back to an earlier *-me -was*. We find the latter in many of the Greek names of Asia Minor, e.g., Ἀραμώας, the *aramewas* "royal" of the Hittite texts, Ὀυβραμούασις, which would be the Hittite Ubra-me-was-is "the son of the Ubramian," Ubra or Upa being a divine name.

M. VII, 1. On a statue (now in the Berlin Museum) from Kirsh-oghlu near the ancient Gindarus on the Afrin :—

1. DET-a-me-i [aramis] ANA-na-a-wa-s a-MA-wa-DET-S
I (am) [the king] powerful of the city

Ir-katu-nas unna-NA-na-s Un-qa-Q (?) -u-i
Irkatunian, the land of the god (Uan); of Unqi

2. kamâ ID-am-m-mâ a-gha-s DET. ID.-mâ-mis c
of the gate the pavement anew (and) the priests' (?) 100

katu-s-MÂ i-was-i-ta mis-MIS-[wa] wa-m-a-m
image-niches in the shrine I constructed, and this place

ID-nu-wa
I strengthened.

1. *Uanna* or *Unna* is "god"; *Uan* or *Uanna* was also the name of the country (according to the Egyptian inscriptions) west of Aleppo, from which the inscription has come. It would seem that it signified the "god's land." Northward was a country which

⁴ There is a space between *sirridis* and *san*, otherwise we might read *sirridissan khal-âkis*, that is an accusative governed by the present participle of a verb compounded with *khal* "food." *Bân* is the *wân* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

according to the Assyrian monuments was called "the land of the goddesses."

Unqi was the capital of the district as we learn from the Assyrian texts. After *ga* we should more probably read *nu-i* "of the Unqian (*Unqanti*) gate."

2. We have here the ideograph of "place" (*mâ*) combined with the ideograph of "gate," which in M. XVI, 1 is written separately (*wa-is-a* ID. *mâ* "this gate"). In XI, 3 a name which seems intended for "Carchemish" is expressed by the picture of a double gate combined with *mâ* (or is it *kâ*?), followed by the phonetic complement *a*. The same ideograph is also found in M. XXXI, C. 2, where the *mâ*, however, is placed above instead of below the double gate. In XX, 2 (the original of which is now at Constantinople) the double gate may form part of the name of the capital of "the prince" (*a-nâ-a-is-s*) to whom the inscription belongs, the ideograph in the second line being perhaps a picture of a double gate with the numeral 2 attached to it on the left side. It represents the first syllable of the name and is followed by *me-i* and a character which we also find in M. XXXII, 2. Palanga, where the inscription (XX) was found, was in the neighbourhood of Gurun, which is described in an Assyrian letter (where it is called Guriania) as being in the district of Gamir. The *me-i* of the Hittite text raises the presumption that it is the name of Gamir that is represented here, in which case the last character would be *ir* (or *ri*) and the first *ga* or *game*. This presumption is confirmed by the fact that the first character (the double gate) appears to stand for Carchemish—Gar-gamis in Assyrian—in M. XI, 3.

Hence I conclude that the word for "gate" was *ga* (*ka*) or *gam* (*kam*), that "double gate" was *gamê* (*kamê*), and that the name of Carchemish (which I believe was originally the Semitic Kar-Kamis "the wall of Chemosh") was explained by its Hittite conquerors as "the Wall" or "City" of *Kamê-s* "the double gate." "Gate-place" (*kamâ*) sometimes had the determinative of "building" attached to it as in M. XXXII, 5. It is written phonetically in XXXI, C. 2 *ka-KAMA-mi-is-s-a am-mis-a na-ID.-a-wa-was-MI* "the gates of the city belonging to the double entrance." Here the phonetic spelling verifies my reading of the word.⁵

⁵ According to analogy Camis, in the Cilician name Camis-sares, would be the name of a deity like the Semitic Syrian Babia, the Gate-goddess (a name which has nothing to do with "children").

"Pavement" or "foundations" is denoted by the boot, on which the priest stands in the "edicule" at Boghaz-Keui (M. XXVIII, 1). We have the ideograph again in M. VIII, A. 2, *nun-na-m-m-a-am-mis kai-wa* ID.-a-ta am-a wa-(wa)n-MI ID.-ka-katu-wan-wan "being prince I have built on the pavement of the city of these Kataonians." As *amma* is "earth," "land," *am-m-mâ* may represent the full pronunciation of the word.

In M. XXXIII, A. 4 the context obliges us to give to *aghas* the meaning of "anew." In M. XXXI, C. 2 the locative *agha-ta* is found, perhaps to be read *aghandâ* and regarded as an adverb. As *agha-s*, *agha-ta*, *agha-wan* (M. XXXII, 2) are always written phonetically, *agha* is probably a loan-word from the Assyrian *akha*.

Since the "word-divider" of the later inscriptions still retains in this text its original use as a determinative of classes of persons, the word that follows it probably denotes some class of priests. The ideograph seems to represent an amulet with two strings for attaching it to the person.

The value of the numeral is given us in M. VIII, B. 3, CCCCXXXX *a-mis ara-am-m-mâ-was* "440 royal cities." But as it is almost certainly the hieratic form of *ka*, it may here be intended as the phonetic complement of *katu* and not as a numeral.

For *katu*, the picture of a goddess seated in a niche like the "Niobé" on Mount Sipylos, see my last Paper.

That *mis*-[*wa*] is the reading is indicated by M. XXXIII, 4, *mis-mis-uau-i*; the root is found in *μῶσσον* "a house" (Dion. Hal. I, 26; Strabo 549), whence the name of the Moschi, which is written *Mis-gha* in the native texts (M. XLVI, 1).

Wa-mâ "this place" is used in the sense of "here." The final *-m* seems to be the enclitic "and."

The first syllable of the adjective *-nâwas* "powerful," was *a*, and consequently it is related to *ana-s* "lord," *anammi-s* "prince," *anai-s* "princely," *aname-wa-s* "powerful." My translation "powerful" is derived from the analogy of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which *rabbu* "great," and *dannu* "powerful," stand by the side of one another like *atus* "great" and *anâwas* in the Hittite texts. But since the determinative of "great" is attached to *ana* (M. X, 8) the word may connote size rather than power; in this case *anu-wa* would be "I have enlarged." The ideograph, however,—an arm between two *una*'s (for *ana* ?)—is against this.

M. XXXIII, A. On a stela from the site of the ancient Tyana :

1. DIV.⁶ Au-m-gal-a-s DIV. Tu-a-uan-a-na-s-DET. DIV. ara-mi-s
Aimgalas *the Tyanian,* *the king*
 DIV. gal(e)-na-s DIV. DET.-ID-su-i-s a-mâ
 of the priests' land *the dirk-bearer* *of the city*
2. A-na-NA-a-wa-s DIV. a-na-is DIV. Khal-gha-wan(a)
 the powerful, *a prince* *of Cilicia*
 DIV. Katu-uan(a)-s A-na-s DIV. AMI-s-mâ-mis DIV. am-a
 Cataonian, *the lord,* *a citizen* *of the city*
3. DIV. Wa-na-UAN-tu-au-mes-wa DIV. A-na-is-IS aram-is-mâ
 of the Vanatuans (Eneti); *being prince* *of the royal city*
 DIV. wa-mâ am-a Uan-tu-au-si-wan DIV.
 here *to the city* *of the Eneti-belonging*
 DET.-San-(da)-da-was-wan
 to Sandes-belonging
4. DIV. a-SIN DIV. ID-ta-is DIV. a-gha-s mis-MIS-wau-i
 the sacred stone *as of old* *anew* *I have constructed.*

1. Aumgalas or Aymgalas, the *Ἀιμγολας* of the Greek Cilician inscriptions, the Mugalla of the Assyrian texts, is a compound of *aumes*, for which see above (XXXI, A). Since the character *gal* had also the value of *ἡ*, I have thought it possible that we might read Au-me-nê-a-s, the Greek Eumenês.

2. For *amis-mâ-mis* see M. XXXII, 4, A-mê-s-m-a-nâ-is ; IX, 5, a-mi-MIS-mê-s-MIS ; XV, B. 2, a-mi-MIS-mê-s-MIS ; XIX, B. 9, a-mi-is-m-a. The word is a compound of *amis* "city," and *mâ* "place."

3. The cuneiform Wanṭu-was. *Wana.-au-si-wa-n Sandawa-s(i)-wa-n* " (the sacred stone, as before,) belonging to Sandes of the city of the Eneti," the *Οὐήματα* or *Οὐήμασα* of classical geography.

4. I suppose *mis-wau-i*, i.e. *misu-aw-i*, to represent the perfect, *mis-wa* being the aorist.

The lower part of this monument has been recovered, and is now at Constantinople (No. 837). An inscription runs down either side

⁶ In this and other late inscriptions the determinative of classes of persons has become a simple word-divider ; hence I denote it by DIV.

of the royal figure, and there is another inscription under the feet. The latter seems imperfect, and the inscription on the left hand side of the figure has been destroyed. The inscription under the feet appears to read: *wa . .* DET.-*Sanda-da-nâ-me-s Tu-[uana]-mâ-na-i-[s]* DIV. *nu-is . . a-na-[i]* DIV. *ammâ . .* "This [statue] Sanda-names of the land of Tyana having wrought for the lord of the country . ."

M. X. On a monument from Carchemish, now in the British Museum:

1. DET-ID Kar-ka-me-is-DET. Am-DET.
The dirk-bearer of Carchemish, of the land of Ammi, (and)

Kas-DET. DET.-Khal-[ma]-sar(?) -me
the land of Kas, Khalma-sar(?) me
2. a-na-me-i atu isi-isi uan
the prince am I great; grower of the uan-tree

DET.-Ara-me ara-(am)mi atu(?) IX wan
of Aramis the king supreme over the Nine; to whom
3. DET.-Khal-MA la Kas-u ID.-î-MIS-DET. . . .
the goddess Khalma has given the Kasians; the priest (?) . . .
4. . . . atu-me-i . . -kal ID.-IX ATU
. . . great am I; the minister of the 9 great gods,
5. sar (?) IX-mis tira (?) -MIS [a]-na-[me ? i ?]-was ara
loving the 9 sanctuaries, princely, king-
6. me-was uena-ID.-a-ta wan-was-MI anês-MI
ly, on the altar of the sacred stone these crosses

ghal-li-a
I have provided
7. Mu-ta-a-li-si(s) atu-i-was a-na anâ-was
being the son of Mutalli the great, the prince powerful
8. . . . a-na-DET. DET.atu-me-i
. . . the prince great am I.

1. I read Khalma rather than Khalam, partly because of M. XXXII, 5 (*Khal-m-a*), partly because in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the plural of Akhlam is Akhlama-u (WINCKLER, 291, 6, 8). *Sar* as the phonetic equivalent of the ideograph of "loving" is a mere conjecture based on Hittite names like Sanda-sarme and the fact that in Mitannian *saru* signifies "to desire." The name of the Carchemish king means "beloved of Khalma." His kingdom embraced Ammi or northern Syria, which extended from Pethor on the Euphrates to the Orontes, and Kas or Cappadocia. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets Kas is made to adjoin Mitanni and Nabarina as well as the Hittites east of the Taurus. Ammi—written Ammi, Ammia and Am in the Tel el-Amarna letters—is probably the Hittite word *amma* "the country," and represented the Semitic district conquered by the Hittites.

As pointed out in my last Paper this inscription is one of the oldest we possess, and belongs to the same period and empire as the Ardistama inscriptions discovered by Professor Ramsay. It will be noticed that the phonetic element is but slightly represented in it.

2. In M. XXXII, 1, *ana-mei* is written A-nâ-a-me-i. On the boss of Tarkondêmos the suffixed *mei* appears as *me-u* in the Hittite text while the cuneiform has *me-e*; in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters (WINCKLER, 175. 9, 10) sent to Egypt by the Hittite prince Arzawayâ, "the Arzawan," the Assyrian *urruḍ sarri belî-ya* "I am a servant of the king my lord," is given as the equivalent of *ui malaku bali-mê*, *malaku* and *bali* being borrowed from the language of Canaan, while *ui* is used in the letters of Ebed-Kheba (? Ui-Kheba) in the sense of "servant."

Isi-isi will be the causative of *isi* "to be high," like *kais-kais* "causing to make," M. XV, B. 2. "Causing to be high," *i.e.*, "causing to grow."

For the sacred *uan*-tree and the god Aramis "the king," see my last Paper. In K. 11, Iddin-sum-ilu calls himself the son of (AN) Aramis-sar-ilani, who had been the *damkaru* or agent for Carchemish and had "died in the land of the enemy."

Aramis, "king," is written in rebus-like fashion with the two ideographs which represent "head" (*ara*) and "earth" (*mî*).

The phonetic value of the basket-handle which signifies "supreme" is uncertain. At Gurun it surmounts the ideograph of "god" (*unna*), and is probably intended to be only a determinative; in M. III, A. 2, it surmounts *isi*[*mes*] "exalted"; in M. III. B. 1,

it surmounts (a)*ta-me-s* "ruler" and has the vowel *u* attached to it; at Carchemish it is combined with the head of the high-priest *aba*.

In line 4 "the Nine" are "the 9 great gods," in line 5 "the 9 Sanctuaries," in M. XIX, B. 8, "the 9 sacred cities," in M. XIX, D. 16 (and probably XVIII, B. 5) "the 9 cities." The Hittite empire would seem to have consisted of a confederacy of 9 deified States. At Boghaz-Keui Amma-Atu has behind her the two goddesses of Eyuk and 18 other city-goddesses.

Wan or *uan* is properly the demonstrative "him."

3. Since *lali* is "he gave" in one of the Boghaz-Keui cuneiform tablets, and Lalli (? "the giver") was the name of a king of Malatiyeh, it is probable that we should read here *lali* rather than *la*.

The ideograph represents the fringe on the dress of the high-priest at Boghaz-Keui.

4. In a fragment from Carchemish (M. XIV, 7) containing the name of [Mu-ta]-*ja-li*, the extended hand takes the place of the first ideograph.

5. *Mis* is the determinative of the plural here, and its pronunciation is therefore uncertain. *Tira* (?) for the sacred cross-pole which denotes a "sanctuary" is the merest conjecture.

The phonetic complement of the word is *-a*, and in M. XXXI, C. 4, we have *atu* above it, while in M. II, 7, and XIII, 2, it is preceded by *Katu* and *Katu-atu* in the name of a city.

Tirra, Greek *tra*, is a common suffix in the geographical names of the Hittite district: thus the Assyrian inscriptions give Khata-tirra in the land of the Khattinâ, and in Asia Minor we have Kybistra by the side of the cuneiform Khubis-na, Sava-tra from the name of the god Sava (Sapa, Subbi), &c.

6. The twofold *u-na* has the value of *uanna* or *unna* "god" in M. IX, 5 (compared with XI, 4), and the ideograph is the sacred stone, either mounted on a column—or more probably, after the analogy of the ideograph of "brick" (M. XI, 2, XXI, 4), with the vowel *u* attached to it—and accompanied by the determinative of an ideograph. Perhaps we are intended to read *wanasua-ta*.

Wan-was as in M. VIII, B. 4, CCCCXXX amîs arammâwas *wan-i-was*, "these 440 royal cities."

Dr. A. J. Evans has found the cross at Knossos where it was an object of worship. Its phonetic value is given in M. VI, 4, and IX, 4.

For *khallia* see note on *khalui-mes* (I, 3).

7. Mutalli is a well-known Hittite name.

M. IX. On a monument from Carchemish, now in the British Museum.

1. DET.-a-me-i [San ?-] ga-ara(?)-a-s Kar-[ka]-me-si-wa-DET.-s
I am Sangaras (?) the Carchemishian

DET. Kas-(e)s UN-na-wi DET.-wa-me-s a-am-[is] . . .
of the land of Kas: for the god this city . . .

2. . . . [ara-] me-[s] Kas-wan-na-s DET.-Khal-MA-me-s
. . . the king the Kassian, the Akhlamite,
 Kar-ka-me-si-wa-DET.-s aba-kalu-s LA-MI
the Carchemishian, the high-priest, has given,

DET. ara-mis a-am-me-MIS-was-DET.
being king of the city

3. sun-na-was DET. Ara-me-s-MIS-am-m-a-DET.
attached to the temple, to Aramis-amma (Melkarth)
 sun-un-wa-DET. uena-ID. Aram-is-MIS-am-m-a-DET.
of the temple an image of Aramis-amma
 arame-wan-DET. ID.-mâ-s-wi wa-is . . .
royal for the places of the priests these . . .

4. . . . [is-si-mâ-] a-ta uena-ID. kai-DET.-mâ
. . . on the high-place of an image the form,
 DIV. is-si-mâ-a-ta-DET. ama-DET. is-si-mâ-a-ta-DET. DIV.
on the high-place an artificial bull, on the high-place
 ID.-a-nu-MÂ kai-i-a-(m)is-DET. DET.-Khal-MA-me-wan
a cross making, belonging to the Akhlamite,
 DET. Kar-ka-
the Car-

5. me-si-wa-DET.-wan aba-kalu-wan uena-uan-na-ni
chemishian, the high-priest of the gods
 tir (?) -a-MÂ a-mi-is-me-s a-tu-is Katu-na
of the sanctuary; the citizen - ruler of Cataonia,
 DIV. Aram-is-MIS-am-m-a-mi-[i-is] . . .
belonging to the land of Aramis-amma . . .

1. In the original the second character in the royal name is a clear *ka* or *ga* (No. 35); of the first only an oblique stroke is left which may belong to *san* (No. 59); of the third the left half remains showing that the character was either *ana* (No. 44), or the arm *ara* (No. 2 ID.). We should thus have Sangaras, the name of a king of Carchemish in the time of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II. The published photograph of the inscription is misleading.

I am inclined to believe that the characters *-wa* and *-was* were pronounced *-ya* and *-yas* after *i* or *e*. At all events the suffixes *-me-was* and *-e-was* seem to be identical with *-mes* or *-mis* and *is*. Similarly *anâ-was* or *ana-us* appears to be the same as *anâ-is*, perhaps through the pronunciation of *u* as *ü*. It will be noticed that here, as often elsewhere, the determinative of "district" is placed before the final suffix.

Kas is plain in the original inscription both here and in line 2.

The word for "god" was *uanna* or *unna*, which is written in full in line 5. The boot probably represented *i* and not *wi* after *a*, since the genitive-dative of *ammis* "land," which is generally written *amma-wi*, appears as *amma-i* in M. XXXII. 5, and in XX, 1. 3, in place of *unna-wi* we have UN-na-i.

2. *Kas-wannas* has the same form as *T(?) an-wannas*, "the T(?) annian," in the Arzawan letter of Labbaya (line 2), revised by Dr. Knudtzon. Similarly we find *Kas-wan* in the Ardistama texts.

The verb is probably to be read *lal-wi* or *lala-i*. We have the third person of *kai*, "to make," in M. XII, 1. 3, and XI, 4.

The bull's head, it will be seen, takes a different form in the same word in this inscription, and in line 3 is replaced by the calf's head.

3. The title *aramis ammis* (for *ammeus*) is similarly given to the priest-king in M. II, 1, as being the representative and impersonation of the god who was the true head of the theocratic Hittite city and of the land which constituted its territory. It may be questioned whether the Tyrian conception of Baal as Melkarth, Melek-Qiryath, "City-King," was not due to Hittite influence.⁷

⁷ At Ardistama Aramis or the sacred Uan-tree has not only the fetish of the human head (*ara*) dedicated to him, but also the fetish of the bull's head. According to the Pseudo-Lucian the chief god of Hierapolis, the successor of Carchemish, was supported on bulls. In fact, as the human head represented Aramis, so the bull (*ama*) symbolised "the city" (*ami-s*) as well as the land of Am or Ammi in which Carchemish was situated. At Boghaz-Keui two bull-

In the name of the Hittite town Kil-sunna at Medinet Habu, the Egyptian determinative of "house," or "temple," is attached to *sunna*, and that such is the pronunciation of the ideograph of "house" here is indicated by the spelling *ID-un-wa*.

Uena should rather be *unna* as in line 5 (*UNNA-un-na*), and in M. I, as we have seen, it takes the place of the ideograph of "stone," which in M. XI, 3, is the phonetic complement of *s-unna*.

For the boar's (?) head, see M. X, 4.

4. From the Ardistama texts we learn that the "bull" was represented at the Hittite high-place by a bull's head on the top of the sacred pole, while the "image" was that of Aramis, the divine protector and "king" of the land, who was symbolised by a man's head on the top of a pole. According to the Pseudo-Lucian, the chief god of Hierapolis, the successor of Carchemish, was supported on a bull.

In this line the determinative of a class of persons is already used to divide words. The consistent use of the plough as a determinative of artificially made or "built" objects should also be noticed.

M. XI. On a broken monument from Carchemish, now in the British Museum :

1. wan . . [DET.-Khat-]ta-[m-]a DET.-Khal-MA-me-s
 of the Hittite land an Akhlamite,

[DET.-Katu]-wa-[s ?] [DET ?-] na . . MI . . .
 a Cataonian, of this

2. . . . Khat-attu-me-MA a-(a)ma DET. DET.-li-wa
 . . . of Khattumê the city I have constructed

ara-DET.-ID-wan balu tira (?) -MÂ
 belonging to the chief dirk-bearer the corybant of the sanctuary,

headed dwarfs support a crescent-shaped disk on their heads. On the other hand, in M. XX, 1. 3, Aramis is distinguished from Ammi or Amma, denoted by a bull's head on a pole. On the Yuzghat seal two kneeling bull-headed dwarfs support the wings of the winged solar disk which rests on the sacred cone. On a seal in the Louvre the bull-headed dwarfs are standing while the place of the cone is taken by the sacred tree.

At Boghaz-Keui Aramis as "king" of heaven is surmounted by the winged solar disk, and is depicted as an eunuch carrying in one hand a lituus, and in the other his name, which according to the cast consists of the usual symbol standing in a crescent cp. M. VI, 4.

Kar-ka-me-is-m-a-DET.

of Carchemish

DET.-Khat-ta-un-a-wan-DET.

a Hittite,

wa-na-wan i-us-i-mâ attu-ATU-m-a sun-na-u-is (?)mâ . . .

this high-place of brick (?) belonging to the temple . . .

3. . . . [DET.-Khal-] MA-is Kar-ka-me-si-was-DET. aba-ka-li-ni-s

. . . an Akhlamite, a Carchemishian, high-priestly,

atu (?)s arami (?)s li-wa sun-un-was-mâ

the great (?) the king(?), I have constructed belonging to the temple

i-us-i-mâ DET. a-na-DET.-was Kâmis-a-was

the high-place, being lord of the two-gated city,

Kas-was ID. asi-un A-mis-wan ID.-mi . . .

a Kassian. Behold the sacred stone of the city former [king X]

4. . . . me-wan wa-na DET.-kal-li-ni am-mi wa-DET.-m-a

. . . belonging to . . . for this priestly land here

DET.-ni

(and) of the gods

KAI-ka-s

making

sunna-(w)i

for the temple

Tarka-ka-is-na

of him of the land of Tarkus,

ID.-si

for the dance

na-m-au

of these

ID.-i

dancing priests

kai-wi

had made,

wa-na

this city

a-mu

as before (?)

ID.-u-ta-is

kai-s

making

ka-li . . .

(for) the priest(s)

5. . . . ID.

[I built this] column of this high-place here(?); these

DET. DET.-kalu-MIS kai-s

priests

ID.

making, the column of the Aramis-symbol

ID.

ID.

in front of,

DET. - ana - m - AMMA - m - a - mis

belonging to the royal land,

X - KATU - ATU (?) - mis

attached to the X, niche-image and Amma (?) symbols,

DET.-Tarku-s DET. Khal-MA-š ID. am-es-na-a-na-DET.

Tarkus and Khalma as priests of the city of Nana

mâ

the place

ID.-un-nun-na-mâ

of the Sun-god [have appointed them ?]

Mr. Rylands is probably right in thinking that the column on which the inscription is engraved has been re-used, the inscription originally running round it, one half of it having been afterwards destroyed to make way for a bas-relief of the goddess of Carchemish, who holds a plough (*amma*) in the right hand and the determinative of deity with the cushion (*atu*) beneath it in the left. Owing to the mutilation of the text the translation is necessarily disjointed and unsatisfactory.

2. There was a city of Khatuma or Khadem mentioned in the Egyptian texts as being near Aleppo. The first character may be either No. 16, which, however, in this inscription seems to have only the value of *ni*, or a character which resembles the arm but represents *Khat* in this line in the word Khatta-wanawan. This would naturally be read Khat (or Ara)-wan-ta-a-wan, were it not that the order in which the characters are to be read is fixed for us by IV, A. 2.

The leg had the phonetic value of *ba* (or *balu* ?), but as a title it is followed by *i* in M. XIX, A. 1, and *u* in XVI, A. 1, like the basket-handle in III, B. 1.

I do not know whether we are to read *attu-mâ* "brick-place" with *ATU* as phonetic exponent, or *atu-mâ* "great place."

3. The ideograph in *atu(?)*-s seems to be the same as that which we have in line 5 and IV, A. 3, and which in the photograph of the shorter Gurun inscription follows the name of the goddess Am-m-mâ. In line 5 it represents Attys (see below), and we should therefore probably read Amma-atu at Gurun.

The next ideograph I would identify with the forms of *aramis* found in M. IX, 5, and XXXII, 2.

We should probably read A-MI-wan, *mis* being used ideographically.

4. *Am-mi* may be *ama-AMMA* "the bull-symbol" as in M. IX, 4, but in that case we should not have expected the suffix (or determinative) *mi*.

On the original *sunna-wi* is followed by the trident of Tarkus (which denotes the god at Boghaz-Keui) and the phonetic complement *ka* (No. 35). *Na* is expressed by the hieratic form of *wan* (No. 14) which in line 2 has the value of *na*. Here, however, it may be used for *wan*. In any case the suffix is the same as in *Sandawa-s-wan*, M. XXXIII, 3.

As Tarkus, the god of Das-tarkon, was the Cataonian Apollo, according to Strabo, and at Fraktin or Das-tarkon the name is represented by the ideograph of "dance" with the vowel *u* attached to it, we may conclude that he was known as *unnas siu* "the god of the dance." With the suffix *-was*, *siu* would become *siuwas* or *siuas* "he of the dance," and in *siuas* I see the Sabos, Saba, Sava and Sao-a of the Greeks, the Sapa of the Assyrians and Egyptians and the Subbi of the Tel el-Amarna letters. Sabazios or Savazios is Siua-si-s (or perhaps Siua-si-yas) "the son of Tarkus."

Since the curious ideograph after *amu* (or *amissu*?) represents the name of a city in M. XIX, C. 5, it may be the name of a city here, (*a*)*ta-is* being "royally" or even "with bricks." The sense of the whole line would seem to be: "(King X) making (the sacred stone) for this city of priests (and) for the temple of the gods, had made (it) here in the land of the Tarkians for the dance of these dancing priests, making (it) royally for this city of . . ."

5. *Ni-m-a* perhaps for *namâ*.

On the original the Aramis-symbol is a man's head on the garlanded pole as at Ardistama.

As the two boots when turned away from the reader denote "former," "before," so the two boots facing him ought to denote "in front of."

The next word which has the determinative of "priest," is very difficult to interpret. It might be read *A-m-mi-m-a-mis* and compared with *amis-mes* "citizen" (M. IX, 5, XXXIII, 2, XIX, B. 9), which is written *amis-mâmis* in XXXIII, 2. On the other hand we have the same word: *DET.-m-MI-m-a-mis* in XVIII, B. 6, followed by the names of three divinities, while in XLVI, 3, the determinative shows that we are dealing with a different word altogether, *ana-m-MI-m-a* "prince." Yet in XXXII, 3, we find *Tarka-mis-MI-wan-mâ-mis ana-me-mâ-a-mis* "belonging to the royal city of the land of the Tarkians." Perhaps the best rendering would be "(priests) belonging to the royal city of" the three sacred symbols. At all events these three symbols correspond with the three deities of XVIII, B. 6, Tarkus, Amma and Attys. If the third symbol had the pronunciation *atu* (see note on line 3) *Atu* would be here distinguished from Amma, who would be called *Atu* merely as an abbreviation of *Amma-atu* "the Great Mother." The ideograph appears to represent "the Sun-god of Kas" between two priests. As for the numeral X, the

symbol of Tarkus, the same symbol denoted Hadad-Rimmon in Assyrian.

Instead of the determinative of "deity" Tarkus is preceded by the ideograph of the Sun, indicating that he was the Sun-god of Carchemish, standing there in the same relation to Khalma that Sandes stood to her at Aleppo. The goat's head, by the way, is more correctly given here by Rylands than by Messerschmidt.

Nana, the mother of Attys, was the daughter of the Sangarius, and Carchemish stood near the Sangur or Sagur, the modern Sajur. See VI, 2.

In M. XXIII, C, 1 (according to the photograph) the name of the Sun-god is written Un-un-nu (ID.-*wan-wan-nu-wa-mâ*) "(the powerful city) the place of the Sun-god." In the present text, *un* is followed by a vase which we find in VI, 2, and which is coupled with the ideograph of the Sun-god in two unpublished texts at Constantinople (837 and 1193). It will have the value of *nun*.

XV. On a monument found at Carchemish, but left there to be destroyed :—

1. [a]-me-i sunna-me-s asi-s-si-i
I am the temple-man of the people of the sacred stone,
DET.-Khat-ti-is(?)-i-s DET. Sunna-me-s . . .
a Hittite Sunnames . . .
2. . . . mi-[i]-s a-mi-IS-me-s-DET. am-mi-i-s
. . . of the land of . . . a citizen, citius
kai-i-(m)is-kai-i-(m)is
causing to build,
3. DET.-li-wa . i-us-i-s-mis-i DET. na-m-a
I have constructed for the priests of the chapels of this
sun-un-na(?) . . .
temple . . .
4. wan-was-i-s-DET. (of plural)
. *these.*

1. Mr. Boscawen's copy, which was made from the original shortly after its discovery, has *sunna-me-s* in both places. In the second instance I think it is the name of the priest-king who plays upon it in his first title. We seem to have the same title or name at

Gurun. Perhaps, too, Sunna-si-s “temple-born” is the original of Syennesis, unless this stands for Siuwa-na-si-s; cp. Tarkhu-na and Tarma-na-zi. Perhaps we should read ASI-si-i, *i.e.* asi “of the sacred stone,” since the *s* is not clear in the photograph. Nor is *is* visible in it after *ti*; hence the reading is probably *Khat-ta-i-is*.

2. In M. VIII, B. 3, 4, this is written AM-*mis* DET.-*am-me-was*-MÂ. Since the participle of *kai* is elsewhere written *kais*, *mis* must be *is* here.

3. *Mis* may represent the ideograph of plurality, as in the next line; in that case *iusi-si* will be “of” or “for the chapels.”

4. In M. VIII, B. 3 *un-was-(is)* is written *un-i-was*. The preceding characters of Mr. Boscauwen’s copy may represent the ideographic “above and below”; but see M. XL, 16 (“Supreme over the earth”).

M. II. On a stela with bas-relief of the Syrian Hadad, found at Babylon and now at Berlin. The inscription is very late, and is badly and carelessly written in a cursive hand:—

1. DIV. DET.-a-me-U Tu-a-tû-s DIV. Kal-kasu-a-ni-s DIV. ara-mi-i-s
I am Tuates the Kalkasian the king
 a-am(a)-mis-MIS Sanda- . . m-m-a-ni-s
of the city, the Sanda . . mian;

2. DET.-Sanda-s DIV. ara-mi-i DIV. kai-is-MIS a-tu DET.-me-i-un-DET
Sandes for the king having made the king’s gate
 am-mi-i-wan DIV. ara-me-i-wan DIV. A-ni-i-war
belonging to the city, royal, princely,
 ID.-un-si-wan
belonging to the priests (?),

3. aram-is-mâ DIV. DET.-li-wa (a)m-a-DET. kai-DET.-wa
a royal place I have constructed, for the city I have made,
 DIV. mis-ni-li-wa DIV. li-[m]-a-s DIV. uennaka-si DIV. isi-s
I have built (it); walls of stone lofty,
 DIV. li-m-a-s DIV. UANA-si-i DIV. isi-s DIV. li-m-
walls of wood lofty,

4. a-s DIV. attu-si-i DIV. isi-s kai-DET.-wa kai-i-(m)is
walls of brick lofty I have built, building
 amm-i a-tu-ta-DET. Sanda- . . m-m-a-ni DET.-Sanda-wi-i
in the king's land for the Sanda . . mian Sandes
 DIV. mē-un-DET. DIV. atu-i DIV. aram-is-mâ
the gate-place of the prince ; a royal place
 wa-m-a-(m)is kai-i-s
here making
5. DIV. balu-i DIV. ID.-na-wa-i DIV. me-wa-i DIV. li-m-a-s
for the corybant ; of the towers (?) of the gate the walls
 MIS-mi-su-i-s DIV. sun(?)-am-ni-s-DET. DIV. li-m-a-s
well-built, battlemented (?), the walls
 kâ(mi)-mi-i-su-s DIV. sun(?)-am-ni-s-DET. wa-m-
of the gates battlemented (?) that
6. a-mis DIV. ID.-a-ni-wa DIV. uenna-akasu-wa
are here I have built of brick, I have built of stone,
 DIV. ame-s-ID.-ni-mi-i DIV. wa-m-a-ta DIV. kâ-mâ
for the men of the Sun-god's city, in this place of the gate
 DIV. ID.-i DIV. am-MI-m-a-mis-i(?)
of the caduceus belonging to the men of the land.
 Sanda- . . m-a-ni-s DET.-Sanda-s DIV. atû-mis
The Sanda . . mian Sandes, the lord
 DIV. me-(m)is kai-s aram-is-i
mine, is he who makes for the king's people
7. kâmissa DIV. Katu-tira(?) -ama-wan
the gate of the city of Katu . . .

1. The two characters in the proper name seem to be meant for *tu*, the second having the vowel *u* attached to it. They can hardly be No. 31, *nu*, since Tuates is a Hittite name, while Nuannus is unknown. Moreover the second character is *atu* rather than *ana*. For Kalkas, the Egyptian Kalkesh, see *Proc.*, Jan., 1904, p. 18. The Mer'ash kings are kings of Kalkas ; the name is a compound of Kas(wa).

From the Malatiyeh inscription (M. XVI, 1) it results that

Sanda-*m-mě(s) was a proper name. A city or district must have been called after his name, like the Hittite land of Bakhian in the Assyrian inscriptions, or the Hittite country of Sa(n)dahalis, on the Vannic monuments. The first title assumed by the Mer'ash kings is Sanda-*mme-katumis, "a Sanda- . . mmian Kataonian," and the district must have extended as far south as Aleppo, since in the Aleppo inscription (M. III, B. 1) the name of the country over which . . atu ruled, and which I have previously misread, is Sanda-*m-[a-nas]. In the 2nd line of this inscription another country is mentioned which is identical with the I-ghan-a of Hamath (M. VI, 1). It is, therefore, not surprising that in another Hamath text (M. III, B. 3) we find the country of Sanda-*m-a-(na-was), which interchanges (M. IV, A. 3) with the country of *Na-atu(?)gha-s*, perhaps "he of Natu (?)."

N.B.—In the Aleppo text the king is called *isi[mes] ani[s]*, *aramis a-tu-i[s]* *Kas-pat am-mě I-ghan-a-nis*, "the exalted, the powerful, the great king, the Yakhanian of the city of Kaspat." The value of *pat* for the character found here is obtained from the geographical list of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, where the city of Kashpatu follows immediately "Carchemish the city." The character occurs again on three Boghaz-Keui seals published by Chantre (for one of them see M. XLIV, 5, and a more correct reproduction in my last Paper); here we read *Pat(a)-ar-asis Kasu-i-was* "the Kasian of Patara," which reminds us of Pteria.⁸

2. The ideograph in *ID-un-si-wan* is the cursive form of DET. NO. 5 in my table. In the next line it precedes *li-wa* as in M. XI, 2.

3. The first element in the compound *misni-li-wa* is a derivative form *mis* "to build" or "set up," the *μίσσιν* of Greek writers.

The plural *li-ma-s* is formed by the suffix *m* from *li* "to construct"; the context shows that it must signify "walls" or something similar.

The three ideographs with the same suffixes, in each case following the same substantive, leave little doubt as to their meaning. The second is a tree and will therefore denote "wood"; the only question is as to which of the other two is "stone." At first I

⁸ The *ar* is represented by the spear-head which is found in the name of Ar-ga-na (M. IV, A. 2, where in the earlier days of my decipherment I erroneously supposed it to be the quiver, the values of which are *gal* and *nu*). See also M. XL, 8a. On a seal from Malatiyeh (M. XLIII, 7) we read: *Khalma-ar-uan* the exalted (*isi*) prince."

thought the third was intended to be a cut and angular stone, but the bowl inscription (on which see note) proved that it must be the first, the bowl being made of stone and not of terra-cotta. And, in fact, the third ideograph has exactly the same shape as that which represented a brick (and thence a brick-built city) in the primitive hieroglyphs of Babylonia. The ideograph of "stone" seems to have originally represented a square or rectangular stone on a line of pavement or wall. On the Assyrian monuments the battlements of stone-built towers are depicted in the same way.

4. For the reading *attu*, see note on M. VI, 2, *infra*. The form *kais* shows that *mis* must here be read *is*. *MIS* was used as the determinative of the plural, which often ended in *s*.

5. The ideograph after *abui* (or *balui*) resembles the Egyptian hieroglyph which signifies "to close." The word, however, is found again in M. XXXI, C. 2, where it is written as here, *na-a-wa*, but with the determinative of "a place of two gates." It would seem, therefore, to denote the flanking towers of a city-gate. It occurs once more in XLVI, 2, 3, *na-was* "towers (?)," *na-wa-tu* "of the great tower (?)."

misu-is is a derivative from *mis* "to build." For the reading see note on VI, 4.

The ideograph which I have very doubtfully identified with *sun* "house," is the picture of a roof, or, in the case of a fortified wall or gate, a battlement.

6. Probably to be read *attani-wa* "I have made of brick."

The gate of the caduceus is similarly mentioned on the obelisk of Izgin (M. XIX, C. last line), at Palanga (XX, I, 2, 3), and at Karaburna (XLVI, 2, 3), and in each case is associated with the god Sandes. Sandes is symbolised by the serpent (M. XLI, 1) whose coils form the caduceus as in classical art. Apollo gave the caduceus to Hermes, and at Fraktin the god identified by Strabo with Apollo is represented by a boot (Sawa) passing between the world-columns. At Doghanlyderesi (M. XXXVI, B.) the god who carries the caduceus is called *KHALMA-asīs* "son of Khalma." The thyrsus of Dionysos is more probably the corn-stalk of Sandes at Ivris (M. XXXIV, A.) than the caduceus.⁹

⁹ We could also read *MA-asīs*, *Masis*, "the son of Ma," which is a possible name since Hermēs was the son of Zeus and Maia. Perhaps it would be convenient to state here, once for all, the theological results at which my decipherment has arrived. There were two Hittite trinities of divine Mother,

7. The same city is mentioned on one of the Carchemish fragments (M. XIII, 2), where *Katu* is followed by the phonetic complement *atu*. There was a city of Katara, near Mer'ash.

XXXV. On a stone 8 miles east of Ilgin (the ancient Algunia) near Tyriaion on the road from the Sangarius to Konia :

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| 1. [Ma ?-] mis-s (P) | DET.-AMMA-ID. | ANA-[na-was] |
| <i>Mamit (P)</i> | <i>the prince</i> | <i>powerful</i> |
| ... tu-nâ-DET.-was | wan | ID. |
| <i>of the city of . . tunas,</i> | <i>to whom</i> | <i>the sacred dirk</i> |
| | | UN[NA] |
| | | <i>the god</i> |
| [la?]-ID.-u | Akasu-kasu-li-me-na-DET.-DET. | DET.-isi- |
| <i>has given</i> | <i>of the land of the city of Akasyilis,</i> | <i>supreme</i> |
| amma | Akasu-kasu-li-DET.-me-na | . . uan-uas |
| <i>over the land</i> | <i>of the land of the city of Akasyilis,</i> | <i>the . . .,</i> |
| 2. . . . DET.-ID. isi-me-s-MIS | ar(?)-isi-s-DET. | DET.-AMIS.-DET.-AMIS |
| <i>. . . the prince exalted,</i> | <i>who uplifts</i> | <i>for the citizens</i> |
| . . -a-DET. | AM-na-tu(?) -MI-a-AM | a-nu-(P)-KAI (P) |
| <i>of the city of . . a</i> | <i>of the . . image (P)</i> | <i>the cross (P),</i> |
| aramé-was | ara-mâ-AMMA- | |
| <i>the royal one</i> | <i>from the land of</i> | |
| 3. wa-m-a | ID. | DET.-ID.-DET.-ID. |
| <i>the royal, prince</i> | <i>of the princes</i> | Akasu -kasu-li-DET. |
| | | <i>of Akasyilis,</i> |

Father and Son; the northern being Amma-Atu or Atu, Sawa-Tarkus and Attys (the Hittite name is still unknown); and the southern Khalma, Aramis and Sandes, the Sabazios of the Greeks. The two trinities coalesced in central Asia Minor, though the southern was regarded as the younger of the two. The goat was sacred to Tarkus, the bull to Aramis, the stag to Khalma, and the serpent to Sandes. Sandes was identified with Herakles and Dionysos, and further gave the serpentine caduceus to his father Aramis who was confounded with Hermes. Khalma was identified with Leto, whose name Professor Ramsay with great probability connects with the Lycian *lada* "lady." On Dr. Hayes Ward's seal (M. XLI, 1) Sandes is symbolised by a serpent with the head of a stag (or is it meant for a bull?), and I now think that the inscription would most naturally be read: DET.-*San-da* DET.-*Khal-ma-Uana-au-su* (or *mu*)-*isi* "to Sandes the son of Khalma-Uanausus," i.e. "of the land of the sacred Uan-tree." For a suffix *-suis* cp. *kami-suis* and *Uantuan-siu-an*; if we read *-mu*is we might compare the *-mu*as of Greek Asianic names.

ara-me	ara-me-wan	atu-balus	Tark-ka-mi-is
king	of kings,	chief corybant	of the land of Tarkus,
isi	ID.	atus	Kas
supreme	over the temple-court,	lord	of Kas.

1. For a more correct copy of this inscription see my paper in the *Proceedings S.B.A.*, January, 1904. Further study of the photograph, however, with the assistance of the Ardistama texts, has enabled me to introduce improvements and corrections even into this copy.

A character seems to be lost at the beginning, and the character which follows the animal's head may be *ś*. Hence the name is possibly the same as that in the Ardistama inscriptions.

The title is literally "the man of the land" with the determinative of "prince." We should doubtless read *an-ammi(s)*. The next character is the ideograph No. 19.

The character preceding *nā* is *tu*.

What I have mistaken for a leg in my copy is really the sacred dirk planted in the quiver. It is followed by traces of the ideograph of "deity" (DET. No. 11), by the ideograph of "giving" (*la*, No. 28) and the vowel *u*.

The first character of the local name is that which is often used to form the word *unnakasu* or *unnukasu* "a stone," and may be *akasu*, *aksu*, or *uka*. Unfortunately I have no means of determining with certainty which of these different values actually belongs to it, though *akasu* seems probable. The district in which Tyriaion was situated is called Axylon by Livy (*Hist.* XXXVIII, 18), quoting doubtless from Polybius. The Greeks naturally explained the name as signifying "Treeless," but, since Akasylis would have appeared as Axylis in Greek, Axylon may have been a Greek assimilation of the original name, as Euxeinos was of Axeinos.

The determinative before *isi* is the later "word-divider."

Before the last character of the line (*was*) *wan* is visible in the photograph. After *was* some characters are missing.

2. At the beginning of this line some characters are missing.

The character after *me* is *s*.

With *ar(?)isis* cp. *isi-isi*, M. X, 2.

After *ana*, instead of the dirk we should read the plough and *ana* again. In the name of the city we have a character which is

not a leg, but which the photograph is not sufficiently good to allow me to determine with certainty.

In the shaded space I now see *a*, *a*, *nu* (?) and *kai*.

3. We have *Tarka-mis* in M. XXXII, 3. Cp. also M. XI, 4.¹⁰

The ideograph after *isi* is that which denotes a "temple-court" in the Ardistama texts (I, 3).

The last character but one should be the arm with the dirk.

M. XLVI. On a rock to the left of the gate of a fortress near Karaburna on the Arapison north of the Halys.

- | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. wa-a | mâ-u | na-nas-wa | ATU-was | Kama-mâ-was |
| <i>This</i> | <i>place</i> | <i>I have fortified (?)</i> | <i>being lord</i> | <i>of Kama</i> |
| ka(ma)-mâ-(m)is-u | am-a | Si-na-ś | ara-mis | |
| <i>of the gates</i> | <i>the city,</i> | <i>(I) Sinas,</i> | <i>the king,</i> | |
| Si-na-s-m-a-na-is-s | ID-is | kal-(m)is | mâ-u | |
| <i>of the land of Sinas</i> | <i>the . . .</i> | <i>priest :</i> | <i>the place</i> | |
| na-nas-wa | Mis-gha-mis | a-m-u | wa-amma | |
| <i>I have fortified (?)</i> | <i>being a Moschian</i> | <i>by race ;</i> | <i>here</i> | |
| Mes-gha-wa | i-us-is-mis | ID-a | | |
| <i>of the Moschians</i> | <i>belonging to the high-places ;</i> | <i>of . . .</i> | | |
| a-me-i-mis | Si-na-s-m-a | ara-[mis] | | |
| <i>a citizen,</i> | <i>in the land of Sinas</i> | <i>king ;</i> | | |
| 2. ka-[mâ] | Si-na-is(a)-tu-i-DET. | ka-wa | | |
| <i>the gate</i> | <i>" of Sinas the lord "</i> | <i>I have made</i> | | |
| NA-wa-u-MI-mi-i | na-Nâ-a-was | na-m-a | | |
| <i>belonging to the towers (?) , (and)</i> | <i>the towers (?)</i> | <i>of this</i> | | |
| ma-gha-si | Si-na-is-m-a-mis | ANA-AMMA | | |
| <i>fort,</i> | <i>being of the land of Sinas</i> | <i>king of the land,</i> | | |
| Te-u-uana-na-s-DET. | DET.-Khal-MA-is | Khal-gha-na-a-mis | | |
| <i>of the land of Tyana,</i> | <i>a Khalamite</i> | <i>of the land of Cilicia ;</i> | | |
| mi-was-MÂ | DET.-na-wa-tu | Si-na-s | m-a-na-is-s | |
| <i>the gate (?)</i> | <i>of the great tower (?)</i> | <i>I of the</i> | <i>land of Sinas</i> | |

¹⁰ Is Tarkamis the original of the Septuagint *Θορκαμ* in Gen. x, 3, the Togarmah of the Hebrew text being influenced by Ezek. xxvii, 14 ?

kai-amma <i>as the work</i>	Si-na-is-ATUI "of Sinas the king"	ka-wa <i>have made</i>	NA- <i>belonging to</i>
3. wa-[mi] <i>the towers(?)</i>	na-NÂ-a-[was] <i>(and) the tower (?)</i>	na-m-a <i>of this</i>	mâ-gha-si <i>fort,</i>
Si-na-is-m-a-mis <i>being of the land of Sinas</i>	(a)na-is-š <i>prince,</i>	Te-u-uan-[a]-na-s-DET. <i>of the land of Tyana,</i>	
DET.-Khal-MA-is <i>a Khalamite</i>	Khal-gha-na-a-mis <i>of the land of Cilicia ;</i>	DET.-na-wa-tu <i>of the great tower (?)</i>	
wa(sic)-is <i>these</i>	m-a-mis <i>foundations</i>	kai-wa <i>I have built,</i>	(a)gha-is <i>anew</i>
		kai-s <i>building</i>	
kamâ-ID-is <i>the gates of the caduceus,</i>	ana-m-AMMA-m-a <i>to the king</i>	mâ-a-na-i <i>of the land</i>	
DET. <i>even the god</i>	na-wa-mi <i>belonging to the towers(?)</i>	. . š . . <i>the . . .</i>	
a-tu-MIS <i>great</i>	me (?)-i <i>of the</i>	a-gha-i-MÂ <i>new</i>	ID-ID <i>I have dedicated (?)</i>

1. I was mistaken in supposing that the character preceding *na-nas-wa* is a vase. Messerschmidt is right in making it *mâ*, and consequently the translation I proposed for *nanas-wa* here and in the Hamath inscriptions must be cancelled. On the contrary at Hamath *nanas-wa* is construed, as here, with *mâu*, which has the determinative of "country" prefixed to it. Hence *nanas-wa* will signify either (1) "I conquered," "occupied," or (2) "I selected," or (3) "I fortified." I prefer the last, because it seems to be a derivative from the root *na*, and in lines 2 and 3 of this text we have a word *na-was* from the same root, which must denote some part of the fortifications of the ancient city where the inscription has been found.

Thus the Hamath text (M. IV, A.) will be: "I am the supreme lord Artusuanes the mighty, of the land of Yakhâna the king ; in the city of Hamath this place I have fortified ; being a Hittite from the land of Arkâna. I have built on the high place (which) the Na . . . ian (*Nâtu(?)*-ghas) had constructed." In M. III, B. 2, we have, not the vase, but the character *qa-u*, as in VII, I. 1, so that the word is *Qu-m-ta-a-na-s*, "of the land of Qumta," the Qmta of

Thothmes III, the Kumidi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which was near Irqatu, or Arka.

The ideograph expressing *kaṁā* is found again in a fragment from Carchemish, M. XII, 3, 2, where it is followed by *qa-ama-wa*. The title is consequently the same as that represented in M. XI, 3 by the double gate (*kaṁā-a-was*, or *kaṁiss-a-was*) and must signify "(the king) of the two-gated city." *Kama* may be the origin of the name of Coma-na,—Kammana and Qumana in Assyrian. At all events the leader of the mercenaries in the Hittite army at Kadesh was Kamaiz, that is, "he of the gate-city," while one of the mural goddesses in the train of the goddess of Eyuk at Boghaz-Keui seems to have borne the name of Kammê (M. XXIX, 16).

The Kamissa of M. XXXI, A. 2 shows that we must read *Kama-mâ-mis-u*, Kamisu. Cp. the classical name of the district Khama-nê-nê, in which Karaburna seems to have been.

The name of Sinas was preserved in Saniana and Sanisênê. Notice the difference in the final *s* according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant.

Manais, I believe, means "native-born," and is literally "of the land of the place." Cp. *amâ-na*, "of the country of the city," in M. XXXIII, 2. We find *ana-me-s m-a-na-is* in M. XXXII, 4, where the meaning seems to be "the king of the land," "the native king," and in M. IV, B. 2, we have *m-a-na-nas* followed by the determinative of "country." (The preceding word *ma-s-na* is the accusative of the word for "seat," the sentence reading, "the sacred seat I, a native Hittite, have made.")

The head of the hare is also found in M. XIX, B. 7, "the . . of the nine sacred cities."

We must read *kalis* since we have *ka-kal(i)-š* in M. XXI, 2.

The name of the Moschians is written *Mis-ka-su-ka-s-na-is*, that is *Miska-s-nais*, in M. XXXII, 4. The mural goddess who follows the twin goddesses of Eyuk at Boghaz-Keui is *Mis-kas* (M. XXIX, 14). Perhaps here the name represents Mazaka rather than the tribe of Moschi.

2. The compound word is the name of the gate.

Nawau-mi agrees with *Sinai(a)tui*. *Nawa-s* is an acc. pl. In M. XXXI, C. 2 the word is accompanied by an ideograph representing "a place" and "two gates." See note on II, 5 above.

Ma-gha-si being written phonetically would seem to be a borrowed word, like *agha*, Assyrian *akha*. It is, in fact, an exact

transliteration of the Assyrian *makhazi* "fortress." Another word of the same class is *ti-gha-wi*, also written *ta-gha-wa* (M. XXXII, 3, 5), where the variant vowel of the first syllable would of itself indicate borrowing.

In the geographical list of Thothmes III the word "twofold" is attached to the name Khalka (No. 140) which follows Arzkna or Araziq opposite Carchemish, indicating that there was another Khalka elsewhere. The Khalka of Thothmes corresponds with the Chalkis of classical geography, the district in which Aleppo, which stood on the Chalus, was situated. And now my decipherment of the Hittite texts similarly shows that besides Khalma of Khalmana or Aleppo, there was also a Khalma of Cilicia. Khalma, in fact, appears to have been the goddess of the river Chalus, perhaps born of it as Nana the mother of Attys was born of the Sangarius or Sajur, while Khal-gha would also be "son of Khal."

Mi-was must be the same word as *meuwan*, *mua-i* "gate-place." *Nawatu* is clearly a compound of *nawa* and *atu*, as *anamatu* is of *anama-atu*.

3. *Na-is-š* takes the place of the ideograph of "king" in line 2, and would therefore appear to stand for *ana-is*. But after *š* a character appears to be lost, and as *š* must precede a vowel or sibilant it is probably *is*, so perhaps we should read (a)*naišis* "son of princes."

For the "caduceus" see note on II, 6.

With *anamma mânai* cp. *ana-me-s m-a-nâ-is*, M. XXXII, 4.

On the squeeze the picture of a stela (?) is plainly visible. The last ideograph is that which also terminates the Bulgar Maden inscription (M. XXXII, 5).

M. VI and V. From Hamath : V is a continuation of VI :—

I. A-me	Ar-(a)tu-su-uan-ARA-ATU-S	A-na-a-wa-s
<i>I am</i>	<i>Artusuanes</i>	<i>the powerful,</i>
I-ghan-a-na-DET.	aramis	am-a
<i>of the land of Yakhâna</i>	<i>the king ;</i>	<i>belonging to the city</i>
AM-ama-MA-[ti-wa]-s	kai-s	isi-mâ
<i>of Hamath ;</i>	<i>who has made</i>	<i>the high-place</i>
[tir ?]-a		.. was
<i>of the sanctuary (?)</i>		<i>(and) the ...</i>

mi (?) - was-mi-is was-mi-mis at-ta-mis
belonging to the gates (?) these (?) ; who has built with brick

2. me-wa A-ma-MÂ-ti ID.-ID.-MÂ-ara-me-nun-un-un
of the gate of Hamath the royal palace,

am-a DET.-Na-ID.-na ka-amma-mâ
of the city of the goddess Nana the gate

DET.-ID.-si-wan unna-s-wan, i-us-i mâ
belonging to the fetish(es) of the gods, (and) the altar

wa-m-a unna-s-wan DET.-Am-mâ-ar-mi-is at-tâ-
here of the gods ; I an Amorite building with

3. a-mis DET.-Am-mâ-ar-mi-is-i ID.-wâ-mâ-mis DET.-ID.-a-
bricks for the Amorite(s) in this place have

kasu-wa aramis-mâ wa-AMMA-m-a-mis Khatt-i-s
built of stone a royal city ; I of this place a Hittite,

aram (?) - i-is DET.-Am-mâ-ar-mi-is ID.-wa-mâ DET.-ID.-wa
the king (?) Amorite, here have fashioned (it),

a-un-mâ ta-? DET.-ID.-m-a DET.-Sanda-kasu
where formerly (?) had fashioned (it) Sanda-kasu

aramis (?) . . ID. (of the sun)
the king (?) . . .

4. wa-MIS-SU-mis-u me-iu ammi-atu-ta a-nu-MIS
Of these (?) gates in the king's land the crosses,

ID.-ma-MÂ Uan-ID.-nu-mis-wa-MÂ aramis-mâ
for Aramis, of the people of Uan (in) the royal city,

atu-wan-atu-wan AM-ama-wa A-mâ-a
the very great, (even) of Ammi in the city

ID.-ID.-me-MI-wan ID.-wan
the place of the sacred bull-fetish (and) the (sacred) throne

5. s atu-nu ID.-na-u ID.
[I have built] the royal granaries of the fetish,

Uan-ID.-ID.-nu-mis-wa-MÂ Aram-ma-mâ amâ
of the people of Uan the place of Aramis in the city,

- V. 1. DET.-Am-mâ-ar-mi-is-m-a DET.-Katu(me?)-wa
(of Aramis) of the Amorite land the Cataonian god,
- ana-me-wa atu-wa Ama-mâ-
the princely, the great, over the land of
2. ta-wa-m-a atu-wa mis-ta wa-MIS-SU-misu me-iu-MIS
Hamath supreme. In the building (?) of these (?) gates
- ID.-ma-ASI-m mis-ta-m-a AM-ama-wa
the sacred throne, the . . . place of Ammi
- SU-uan-wa-DET. AM-ama-nas ama-
I have built, being an Ammian by
3. mis UN-na-i š (?) -u-DET. am-mis a-m-a
race, for the gods, the creators (?) of the cities of myself
- ana-me-wa atu-wa
the princely the supreme.

VI, 1.¹¹ Mr. Mocatta's casts have enabled me to improve and correct Messerschmidt's copy of this inscription in many respects, more especially in the first and third lines. The reading of the phonetic characters in the name of the king is given by the two ideographs which follow them and which signify "the great chief." The head which here represents the idea of "chief" has the value of *ara*, while the arm with a dirk denotes both *atu* and *ana*. Among the phonetic characters the second is usually *atu*, but as it denotes the goddess Amma, it is possible that it might also be pronounced *amma*. The knife, as we shall see, has the value of *su* as well as *mu*. Hence we get Aratu-su-uan or Artu-sun, which reminds us of the Arteanu of the Assyrian inscriptions and the Artamanya or Artawanya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (WINCKLER 161). In writing the ideographs the scribe seems to have regarded the final *uans* as a suffix attached to the nominative Artus. The final *s* appears to have been etymological, being dropped in pronunciation, as in the name of Kuaruwan (from the name of the deity Quera), but a short vowel (*a*) may have been understood between the *n* and *s* as in the Egyptian mode of writing.

¹¹ I have given the reading of this line from the original in the Museum at Constantinople, where the characters I have transcribed are clear.

Am means "ox" and "calf," symbolised by the horns which doubtless had another pronunciation when signifying "horns."

Kais isi-mâ is clear on the original. The three (or two) next characters are lost. For *mi-was* see note on M. XLVI, 2. It is followed by *mi-is was-mi-mis atta-ta-mis*. For *atta-mis*, written *attâ-mis* (*attâ-is* ?) we have in XI, 2 ID.-u-ATU ; in lines 2, 3 of this inscription it is *at-ta-a-mis*. In M. IV, A. and B. 2 the name of Hamath is written with *at-ta*. There is nothing lost at the beginning of the next line.

2. The ideograph which follows *Amâti aramis* is hopelessly obliterated. After *me* we have the vase which must have the value of *nun* when used to express the name of the Sun-god (see XI, 5); *aramenun* will be the phonetic equivalent of the three preceding ideographs and *un* or *wan* is the suffix of the accusative.

I was mistaken in supposing that the ideograph attached to the name of the goddess Nana was a picture of the sun ; it is the heap of corn, for which see note on M. I, 3.

The figure of the "fetish" resembles a doll and must be carefully distinguished from the "standard" (*wa*). It is preceded by the determinative of "man."

Unna-s-uan, with the accusative -*n*, and the adjectival -*s(i)* and *wa*, has the same form as *Sandawa-s-wan* in M. XXXIII, 3.

Ammar-mis, literally "he of the land of the Amorite god," Assyrian Amurru, of which Mur, which appears in Hittite names, may be a contraction.

3. As *wa-mâ-mis* is preceded by the determinative of "this man" (which may, however, be intended only as a phonetic determinative), it may signify "I who am of this place." The verb is represented by the ideograph of "fetish," followed by the character which in M. II, 6 is attached to the ideograph of "stone"; see note on XXXV, 1.

The following characters are all quite clear except the *aram* (?), which seems to be the upright arm. "I have fashioned" is represented by the ideograph of a fetish preceded by the doll and followed by the suffix *wa*.

We have *a-un* in the Ardistama altar inscription (I, 3), where I was probably wrong in regarding it as merely the accusative suffix. At all events the passage is very similar to the one before us, as it reads *a-un AMIS mâ-un Sanda-**.

The character which followed *kasu* in the name of the king

appears on the original to be the ideograph of king with rays of light on either side. The next character is lost, and then comes a ring. We are reminded of the name of Sanda-khshatra the son of the Kimmerian chieftain Tugdammê (Lygdamis), and of the inscription said to have been engraved on the "Assyrian" tomb at Tarsus which began with Ἀνακυνδαπάξης or Ἀναβαξάρης, perhaps *anaku Sanda-kastares*. Arta-khshatra appears as Artaxerxes in Greek, and Sandes as Andes.

4. In *wamisu* the ideographs MIS-SU are expressed phonetically by *mis-u*. In the corresponding passage V, 2 the ideograph of plurality MIS is attached to *meiu*, which must be the plural of (the acc. sing.) *me-un* or *me-wan* "gate" or rather "gate-place," *kâ* and *kâ-ma* being gate specifically. In M. IV, A. and B. 2 the place of *meiu* is taken by *mâ-u* with the determinative of "country," and we also have *mâ-u* in M. XLVI, 1, while *mâ-u* is preceded by *wa-su* instead of *wa-misu*. In II, 5 we have the adjectival MIS-*mi-su-i-s* by the side of *kâ-mi-i-su-s* "belonging to the gates," where we must have a derivative from *mis* "to build." Hence in this passage *wa-misu meu* may be "these built gates," but the participle ought to follow and not precede its substantive, and the parallel passages *waisa kâ-mâ* "this gate" (M. XVI, A. 1) and *wâ mâu* (XLVI, 1) suggest that *wamisu* is really a form of the demonstrative, from the nominative *wa-me-s*, or else that it is to be read *wa-is-u*. There is, however, another possibility. Line 2 of our inscription perhaps shows that the stones had come from "the gate-place of the dirk-bearers' city," and in *wamisu meu* we may have a reference to the "dirk-bearers' gate." The word for "dirk-bearer" terminated in *-u-is-su-i-s* (XXI, 1, XXIII, A. 2, 3, XXXIII, A. 1), and from line 2 we gather that *uis* was preceded by *me*. The whole word, therefore, may have been *wame(u)issuis*. But *wa-su* in IV, A. 2 must be the demonstrative.

Ammi-atu-ta is written *ammi-i a-tu-ta* in II, 4, and could be translated "in the great land." In II, 2, however, *atu* precedes *meiun*.

The horns of the ox are clear in the cast.

According to the Pseudo-Lucian a sacred throne stood on the left hand side of the temple of Hierapolis, symbolising the Sun-god, of whom no figure existed.

5. The ideograph which is followed by *nau* is the heap of corn.

V. 1. I do not know whether the lines on either side of *Katu* are intended to represent rays of light or to denote the character *me*.

2. That *atû* is the pronunciation of the ideograph follows from a comparison of lines 1 and 4 where it interchanges with *atu*.

I think the word for "throne" must be *masis*, and that consequently we should read *ma-si-m(a)* here, since in M. IV, B. 2 I now see that *ma-s(e)-na* must represent "sacred throne," the translation being "a sacred throne, being a native of the Hittite land, I have made in the chapel." In the Ardistama texts *-m* sometimes takes the place of *-mâ* as the suffix denoting locality.

I read *suân-wa* for the following reasons: (1) *suannas*, as we have seen, means "house"; (2) in M. XVI, A. 1 the knife in the sense of "constructing" is preceded by *s* which cannot be the plural suffix of the preceding word *kamâ* "gate," as I used to suppose, since this is in the singular. Hence in M. II, 5 we have *MIS-mi-su-i-s* for *misuis* and *MIS-SU* is spelt phonetically *misu* in line 4 above.

3. *Š(?)u* is also found in M. XIV, 7, 2, "the chief of the high-place who has created (*š(?)u-i-mis*) the earth." That *UN-na-i* is plural we gather from M. XX, I, 3 where the original, now at Constantinople, has "this gate(?) of the deities (*UN-na-i*) Sandes, Aramis and Amma" (*San-da-wi Aram-i AM-mi-i*, *AM* being represented by a bull's head on a pole).

M. XXI. On a lion found at Mer'ash (Assyrian Markhasi):—

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|--|
| 1. a-me-i | u | Sanda- . . m-m(e)-Katu-mi-i-is-s |
| <i>I am</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>Kataonian of the city of Sanda . . m,</i> |
| DET.-Kal-kasu-a-na-is | | DET.-Khalu-khal-gha-a-na-i-is-DET. |
| <i>a Kalkasian</i> | | <i>a Cilician of Khalus,</i> |
| ara-mi-i-s | u | Mar-gha-si-i-is |
| <i>the king,</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>Mer'ashian,</i> |
| | | DET.-ID.-u-is-su-i-š |
| | | <i>the dirk-bearer</i> |
| A-na-a-wa-š | u | Sanda- . . m-m(e)-Katu-mi-i-si-is |
| <i>powerful; of a</i> | | <i>Sanda . . m-Cataonian the son,</i> |
| 2. [ID.]-is-su-[is] | ANAWA-S | Ma-[ir] ¹² -gha-si-š-DET. |
| <i>the dirk-bearer</i> | <i>powerful,</i> | <i>of Mer'ash city</i> |

¹² So most probably on the original.

- ama-a-mis-su-si-is ID.-u-ID.-su-a-m(e) anas
a citizen, *of* *the lord,*
- MÂ (?) Ma-ar-gha-asis ka-kal(i)-ś u Sanda- . . m-m-(e)-
of Mer'ash *the priest; of a* *Sanda . . m-*
- Katu-mi-is-si-is DET.-Kal-kasu-a-na-ś
Cataonian the son, *a Kalkasian,*
3. ANA-wan-a-s u ama-a-si-was DET.-ID.-su-nas
of the royal land *a* *citizen,* *of the dirk-bearer's land*
- ana-wan-a-wan-a-ś u Mar-gha-si-ś-is ID.-u-su-s ana-ś
the royal, *a* *Mer'ashian,* *. . usus,* *the lord*
- mâu-tu DET. un(a)-wi DET.-wa-amma-mis
of these lands, *belonging to this land of the god*
- aramis-mi . . -na-tu-ś MÂ-MI
king (of the land), *the . . .* *of the land (?)*
4. isi-me-is-DET. . . -ś DET.-wa-me-s DET.-ara-wan-nâ-is-me-nas DET.-
exalted; a . . (is) he *of the royal land,*
- DET.-ID.-ID.-nâ-s tir(?) -a-mi-ś
who provides food for *the sanctuary,*
- DET.-ID.-gha-[li ?]-me-su-ś-i ara(?) -mi-ś DET.-a-nâ
of the men of the corn-land *the chief,* *the lord*
- DET.-ana-me-i-was DET.-atu-was UN-na-was-i
princely *great* *of the divine ones*
- DET.-wa-mes DET.-a-nâ-mis ana-me DET.-atu-i
(is) he; *lord* *of princely great ones,*
- DET.-ID.-i-nas Kasu-wi-i Khatt-i-nas tir(?) -a-mis
seated on the throne of Kas, *a Hittite* *of the sanctuary,*
- DET.-am-a DET.-atta-mis-wan-mis-DET. DET.-Khatt-i-nas
of the city *of the Brick-(makers ?)* *a Hittite :*

5. *tir(?)*-a-mâ DET.-Khat-ta-gha gha-li-a ara-am-asi(n)
the sanctuary of the Hittite I have nourished, a royal one

kasu-mâ DET.-San-da-mis-š-i amm-i unna
for the land of Sandes, the god's

is-s-amm-mâ ID.-is-MI DET.-a-na-mis
high-place, (being) . . -priest (of the land), a prince,

DET.-ID.-si-š ID.-MI-i-š DIV.-i-ID.-si-mâ-i
son of a priest, raiser of the high-place

DET.-Katu-mi-is-š-i Kal-kasu-a-wan-wa-mis-DET.
of the Cataonian god, of the Kalkasians

DET.-a-na DET.-Kal-kasu-a-wan-nas DET.-
the lord Kalkasian, of

Mâ-ID.-mâ-nê-i-mis DET.-a-[na?]
Ma . . manis the lord (?) ;

6. *is(i)*-mâ-DET. DET.-si-u DET.-kai-(m)is
a high-place for the dancers having made,

DET.-a-na ara-a-mâ ID. DET.-Kasu-wa-i
of the lord Aramis the dirk (of Aramis) the Kasian,

DET.-Khal-gha-i DET.-ID.-nu-nu DET.-ata-mis
the Cilician, (and) the . . . making great,

DET.-i-isi-si-m-a-na-i DET.-Katu-mi-is-š-i
for him of the high-place (even) the Cataonian god

kai-wa-a DET.-ID.-was DET.-Kasu-šu-s
I have made (them) (being) a horseman a son of Kas

. . -mis DET.-a-mis
 . . . by origin,

7. ana-me-was atu-was
princely, great.

1. The compounds Sanda . . m-Katumis and Khalu-Khalghanais are parallel to one another. The latter is similar in formation to Khali-Rabhat or Khali-Galbat, as the name usually read Khani-R.

or Khani-G. is written in the inscription of Agaptakhu, though we have the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets that it was also called Khana-Rabbat. Khalu is probably the Greek Halys, and reappears in Khal-Baba (at Sinjerli), and Khali-tu in a Vannic inscription, with which Dr. Lehmann compares the Homeric Ἀλιζώνιοι.

For Sanda . . m see note on M. II, 1.

2. Notice the gentilic suffix *-sis* in *amamissusis* (or *amâmi-suis*!) agreeing with *Katumi-s-is*. On the original (now at Constantinople) the character which follows *Ma* in *Ma-[ir]-gha-si-s* is almost certainly *ir* (No. 76).

Ka-kalis is to be read *kalis*, *ka* indicating that the next character is to be pronounced *kal* and not *nu*.

3. The adjectival suffixes in this line are important for the study of Hittite grammar.

Ana-wa-na-wa-na-s would be "belonging to the land of those who belong to the land of the prince."

The name of the king is . . *usus*; he does not give the names of his father and grandfather.

In *mau-tu*, *tu* can hardly be anything else than a suffixed demonstrative.

MI after *aramis* was not pronounced; see M. XXXV, 1.

4. The determinative of *isi-mes* is the column.

With *ara-wannais-menas* comp. *Kas-wannas* and *Akasuli-mena* (XXXV, 1).

Literally: "the food-provider belonging to the sanctuary." In *gha[li]-me-su-s-i* the knife probably has its phonetic value of *mu* (from *mus* "to build" as *su* is from *suan* "to build").

Just as the subjects of the Vannic kings are called "the children of the god Khaldi," so here the subjects of the Mer'ash king seem to be called "the children of the gods" (*unna-wa-si*). The Hittite States were theocratic, the king being also high-priest; hence both he and his people take their titles from the supreme deity; e.g., "the Sandian" in M. XXXI, A., "the land of Sandes," M. XXI, 5, "the land of the god(s)," M. VII, I. 1.

Anamis anamê atui is probably the reading of the ideographs in M. XXXV, 3.

Attami-s(i)-wa-n-mi-s perhaps implies a city of the name of *Attami*.

5. For the suffix *gha* see above.

For *ghalia* and *kas(u)ma* see notes on M. I, 3, and X, 6.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| DIV. (a)nu-mis
<i>strengthening,</i> | DIV. a-mis-DET.
<i>(and) the cities</i> | DIV. Kasu-was-MÂ
<i>of Kas</i> |
| DIV. ama-a-ID.-na
<i>of him of the land of the city</i> | | DIV. atu-i-mâ
<i>the royal place ;</i> |
| DIV. iru-nu-me ⁽¹⁵⁾ -i
<i>the . . .</i> | | |
3. qa⁽¹⁶⁾-ID.-ID. DIV. mâ-m-wan-wi (?) DIV. mis-mis-MÂ
the sacred stela (?) defining the place (?) erecting
- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| DIV. ana-me-wi (?)
<i>for (?) the prince</i> | DIV. kalu-wan-wi (?)
<i>the priestly one ;</i> | DIV. ana-me-is
<i>prince</i> |
| Tu-tuana-DET. ¹⁷
<i>of Tyana</i> | DIV. [DET. ?]-ata-mes
<i>supreme over (?)</i> | ti-gha-mi
<i>the boundary (?)</i> |
- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| DIV. ID.-i-s-m-a
<i>of the place of the obelisk,</i> | DIV. DET.-Katu-mi-is-š
<i>a Cataonian,</i> | DIV. amm-i
<i>of the land</i> |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| ara-a-kal (?) -mi-i
<i>high-priestly (?)</i> | DIV. ana- me-i ¹⁸
<i>a prince am I</i> | KAI (?) -[s ?]
<i>who has fixed (?)</i> |
|---|--|--|
- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| ti-i-gha ¹⁹ -was (?)
<i>the boundaries (?) ,</i> | nu-i ²⁰ -MIS
<i>strengthening</i> | nu-mi-i ²¹
<i>with strength (?)</i> |
|--|---|---|
- | | |
|--|--|
| DIV. ka-mis KAMÂ ²²
<i>the gates</i> | DIV. ana-me-mâ-a-mis-DET.
<i>belonging to the seat of the prince,</i> |
|--|--|
- | | |
|---|--|
| DIV. Tua-na-wan(a)
<i>in the Tyanian</i> | Au-m-gal-awan(a)-DET.
<i>Aimgalas's city,</i> |
|---|--|
- DIV. a-SIS²³-is²³.
(and) of the land of the sacred stone
4. nâ²⁴-s tira (?) -š-MÂ DIV. ana-me-s m-a-nâ-is
the sanctuaries, being prince of the land
- | | |
|---|--|
| DIV. Mis-KASU-ka-s(a)-na-is
<i>of the land of Mazaka (?) ;</i> | ID.- . . -wa
<i>I have poured out</i> |
|---|--|
- | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| wa-nê-nê
<i>wine,</i> | DIV. ID.-ID.-? -is
<i>consecrated stelæ (?)</i> | mis-[mis]
<i>setting up</i> |
|--------------------------|--|--|

¹⁵ ¹⁶ So on the cast.¹⁷ On the cast the first character is *tu*, followed by the wheel No. 86.¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ So on the cast.

m(?)a-mi-i	nâ-mi-i	DET.-Ana-amma
<i>for the place (?)</i>	<i>of this</i>	<i>Prince-god</i>

DIV. mâ-[wa]-is-na-š-DET.

DIV. i²⁵-us(?)-is²⁶-mi-i
of the chapels (?)

.

am-a	DIV. San-da-wan-ID.-wa-s-wa-DET.	DET.-un-wa
<i>in the city</i>	<i>of the Sandonians'</i>	<i>god,</i>

DIV. ID-unun(?) -ID.

.

nê-i-n-u-nu DIV. ID.-nun-uan-ID.-nun-uan
a Sun-symbol (?)

5. a-UNUN-mis	DIV. nâ-mi-is	a-na-was	UN-na-was
<i>erecting (?)</i>	<i>This (is)</i>	<i>the Prince-</i>	<i>god's</i>

DIV. a-si-is	DIV. amm-a-i	wa-m-a-mis-DET.
<i>sacred-stone</i>	<i>for the land</i>	<i>set up here</i>

DIV. ta-gha-was ²⁷	Kai ²⁸ -s	kamâ-DET.
<i>belonging to the boundary (?)</i>	<i>Making</i>	<i>the gate</i>

DIV. . . -iu	ana-m(?) -AMM(?) -m(?) -wan	DET.-Sanda-wa ²⁸
. . .	<i>belonging to the Prince,</i>	<i>the place of Sandes</i>

UN-na-wa ²⁹ -mâ	DIV. kamâ	DIV. KATU-u-[ka?]-tu ³⁰
<i>the god, (and)</i>	<i>the gate</i>	<i>of the Katu image[s]</i>

DET.-ID.-m-a-wan-Mâ	UN-na-ka-tu-KATU-
<i>belonging to the goddess . . ma,</i>	<i>both belonging to the place</i>

mâ-s-m-[a]-wan-MIS	ID.-tu ²⁷	DET.-Khal-m-a
<i>of the Cataonian deities,</i>	<i>this (?) silver</i>	<i>to Khalma</i>

ID.- . . m-iu
I have dedicated (?)

1. This seems the latest in the date of the Hittite inscriptions, and with its phonetic rather than etymological spelling and superfluous determinatives is very difficult to translate. My attempt at interpretation must be considered as tentative only.

Sanda-wan-wa-s "he of the Sandian city"; in line 4 we have

²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ So on the cast.

the genitive of a further adjectival formation *Sanda-wan-was-wa* (i.e., *Sandaua-na-wa-su-a*) "of him who belongs to the Sandian city," the word explains the meaning of the suffix *wan* or *wana*. Kybistra was called Herakleia (the modern Eregli) by the Greeks, this being an exact translation of Sandawan(a), since Sandes was the Cilician Herakles. The Greek Σανδών represents the Hittite *Sanda-wan* or *Sanda-un*.

Sandautis may be Sandautas since *ti* interchanges with *ta* in the word *ti-gha-mi* further on. Sandautas would represent a Greek Sandondas parallel to Tarkondas or Trokondas, Lycian Trqnta.

Since Aūmgalas (Αὐμγολας in the Greek inscriptions) was king of Tyana and the Wanatū or Eneti, Uana-**s* must read Uana-tumi-s, and the initial character of the next title will be *tua*. This gives us the values of two more characters. But is *tumi* the same character as that which has the value of *dime* or *time* on the boss of Tarkondēmos? There are several cases in which rays of light (?) are added to a character (e.g., the ideographs *aramis* and *Katu*) without apparently affecting its phonetic value.

2. *Aumgala-is* a formation similar to *Khatta-is*, *Tarkha-is*.

Notice that *arami* agreeing with *Aumgala* in *Aumgala-is* is in the genitive.

Arama-mi-s-wa may also mean "of the sons of the land of Aramis." The Arimi were located in Cilicia by Kallisthenes (Strab. XIII, 4, 6).

The god Ana "the Prince" is here the equivalent of Sandes. The same god Ana is mentioned on a Cilician coin; Six: *Numism. Chron.* IV. 3, p. 105.

The ideograph which I have supposed to mean "worship" appears to represent a fire-altar. Perhaps we should divide the words *Sandau Khalmamme isima* "the high-place of Sandes the Akhlamite." *Mu-n* or *mu-wan* is here explained as signifying "gate," cp. M. II, 4.

3. The ideograph is the picture of a stone tablet with lines of writing on it. It recurs in line 4. Perhaps we should read *mā-m-uan-yi*, and *ana-me-yi*, and divide differently: "who has erected the sacred stela (?) for him of (this) place (?); prince of priestly princes." *Tigha-mi* is written *tagha-was* in line 5. The phonetic and varying spelling indicates that the word is of foreign origin, and I believe that it is borrowed from the Assyrian *takhumē*, *takhuwē* "boundaries."

From the picture of the obelisk we may infer that an obelisk stood in the neighbourhood, marking the boundary of the territory. The ideograph occurs again in line 5 as well as on the monument of the Pseudo-Sesostris, and at Ivriz (XXXIV, B. 3), where we have *id-is-wa* "I have set up." *Aumgala-wa-na* must be read here, and perhaps we should read *ama* instead of "DET." after it.

4. The ideograph denoting "to pour out" is the picture of a liquid flowing out of a tilted basin. *Wanênê* must be what is poured out, and it is natural therefore to connect it with *oivos*, Arm. *gini*, Heb. *yayin*.

Mâmi is probably connected with *mamwan-wi* in line 3.

Mâwa(?)isnaš may be a compound, of which the first element is the *mâ-i-wa* of M. I, 3.

The ideographs at the end of the line have been explained by the unpublished inscription at Constantinople, No. 837.

5. *Ana-m-AMM-m-wan*; so in Hogarth's copy. The cast throws no light on the passage.

Unna-Katumas-ma-wan "belonging to the place of the Cataonian god(s)." *Katumas-ma* is a formation similar to *aramis-mâ* "the capital," and *mis* must be the determinative of plurality.

The following ideograph represents a ball of metal being thrown from a scoop into a hand held out to receive it. It may, therefore, signify a silver-mine or foundry rather than the metal itself.

The final verb is the same as that which comes at the end of the Karaburna inscription (M. XLVI, 3). Mr. Hogarth's copy gives *i-u* as the suffix, but the cast is not clear and it may be *i-[wa]*. *I-u* would be parallel with *-wa-u-i* in M. XXXIII, 4.

VOCABULARY.

A

- Aba-kalu-s "high-priest," IX, 2.
 Aba-kalu-wan, acc., IX, 5
 (probably pronounced Aba-
 kaluan).
 Aba-ka-li-ni-s "high-priestly,"
 XI, 3.
 Abu "corybant," XI, 2. May
 be read *balu*.
 Au-me-s "priest," XXXI, A.
 Au-m-gal-a-s "Aingolas," Ass.
 Mugalli, XXXIII, A. 1. A
 compound of *aum(es)* and
galis (kalis). Perhaps to be
 read Aumenuas, Greek
 Eumenês.
 Au-m-gal-a-is "of the city of
 A.," XXXII, 2.
 Au-m-gal-a-si-s "son of A.,"
 XXXII, 1.
 Au-m-gal-a-wana-AMIS "be-
 longing to (city of) A.,"
 gen., XXXII, 3.
 A-gha-s "new," Ass. *akha*,
 XXXIII, A. 4 (used ad-
 verbially).
 A-gha-s, VII, 1. 2.
 (A)gha-is, XLVI, 3.
 (A)gha-i-mâ "new place,"
 XLVI, 3.
 A-[gha]-nâ-is "renewing,"
 XXXII, 3.
 A-gha-wan, acc., XXXII, 2.

- Akasu-kasu-li-me-na, XXXV,
 1, 3. Probably the classical
 Axylon.
 Am "land of Am," cuneiform
 Am, Ammi, X, 1.
 AM-ama-nas "an Ammian,"
 V, 2.
 AM-ama-wa "of Am," VI, 4;
 V, 2.
 A-me-i "I(am)," II, 1; VII, 1.
 1; IX, 1; XV, 1; XXI, 1.
 A-me, VI, 1.
 A-ma-a "for me," V, 3.
 Amis "city." A-am-[mis], IX, 1.
 Ama-a, oblique case, VI, 1,
 2; XXI, 4; XXXII, 1;
 XXXIII, A. 2, 3; XLVI, 1.
 A-(a)ma, XI, 2.
 A-mu, XI, 4.
 Amâ, VI, 5. M-a-DET. "for a
 city," II, 3; for (A)mâ.
 A-mis "by origin," XXI, 6.
 For *ame-i-was*, *ame-is*.
 A-m-u "by race," XLVI, 1.
 Literally "by city."
 A-mis "cities," XXXII, 2.
 Am-mi-i-s "cities," XV, 2.
 Am-mis-mis, V, 3.
 Am-mi-wan, acc., II, 2.
 Ama-a-ID-na "of the city
 land," XXXII, 2.
 Ama-a-mis "citizen," XXXII,
 1. Or "countryman"?

- [Am]-mâ-mis, XXXII, 3.
 Ama-a-mis-su-si-is "son of
 the citizen," XXI, 2.
 A-am(a)-mis-mis "belonging
 to the city," II, 1.
 A-AMMA-mis, XXXI, A.
 Ama-a-si-was "citizen," XXI, 3.
 A-me-i-mis "citizen," XLVI, 1.
 A-mi-is-me-s "citizen," IX, 5;
 XV, 2. Perhaps for *ami-
 si-mes*.
 Ami-s-mâ-mis, XXXII, A. 2.
 Probably *mâ* is merely a
 determinative here.
 A-am-me-mis-was "belonging
 to the city," IX, 2.
 A-mis-wan, acc., XI, 3. To
 be read *ami-wan*.
 Am-es-Na-a-na "city of goddess
 Nana," XI, 5.
 Ame-s-Wan-wan-ni-mi-i "for him
 of the city of the Sun-god,"
 II, 6.
 Am-mi "for the land," XI, 4.
 Amm-i, II, 4; VI, 4; XXI, 5;
 XXXII, 5.
 Amm-a-i "for the land,"
 XXXII, 5.
 Am-mâ-a "in the land," VI, 4.
 Amma, XXXV, 1.
 Am-mi-m-a-mis-i "for the peo-
 ple," II, 6.
 A-amma-wa-id.-ś "belonging
 to the land," VII, I, 1.
 Cp. Mitannian *umi-ni* "coun-
 try," Vannic *eba-ni* "coun-
 try."
 Ama-mâ-ta-wa-m-a "in the land
 of the Hamathites," V, 1.
- A-ma-mâ-ti "of Hamath,"
 VI, 2.
 AM-ama-MA-[ti-wa]-s "the
 Hamathite," VI, 1.
 Ama-DET. "artificial bull," IX, 4.
 Am-mâ-ar-mi-is "Amorite," VI,
 2, 3.
 Am-mâ-ar-mi-is-i "for the A.,"
 VI, 3.
 Am-mâ-ar-mi-is-m-a "of the
 Amorite land," V, 1.
 A-na-s "lord," XXXIII, A. 2.
 Ana-ś, XXI, 3.
 Anas, XXI, 2.
 A-na "prince," X, 7; XXI,
 5, 6.
 A-na-DET., X, 8.
 A-nâ, XXI, 4.
 A-na-is "princely one," XXXII,
 2; XXXIII, A. 2.
 A-na-is-is, XXXIII, A. 3.
 (A)na-is-ś, XLVI, 3.
 A-na-DET.-was "powerful,"
 "lord," XI, 3.
 ANAWA-S, XXI, 2.
 Anâ-was, X, 7; XXXII, 5.
 A-na-a-wa-s, VI, 1.
 A-na-a-wa-ś, XXI, 1.
 ANA-na-a-wa-ś, VII, I, 1.
 ANA-na-nâ-a-wa-s, XXXI, A.;
 XXXIII, A. 2.
 ANA-na-nâ-a-wa-ś, XXXII, 1.
 Ana-wan-a-s "of the royal
 land," XXI, 3.
 Ana-wan-a-wan-a-ś "of the land
 of those of the Royal land,"
 XXI, 3.
 A-ni-i-wan "powerful," acc.,
 II, 2. Or should we read
ana-ni-wan?

- Ana-me-is "prince," XXXII, 3.
 A-nâ-mis, XXI, 4, 5.
 Ana-me-s, XXXI, A; XXXII, 4.
 Ana-m-AMMA-m-a "for the prince," XLVI, 3.
 Ana-amma, XXXII, 4; XLVI, 2.
 Ana-mi-wan, acc., XXXII, 2.
 Ana-m-AMM-mě-wan, XXXII, 5.
 Ana-me-yi(?) "for the prince," XXXII, 3.
 Ana-me "of princes," XXI, 4.
 Ana-me-i-was "princely," XXI, 4.
 Ana-me-was, XXI, 7.
 Ana-me-wa V, 1, 3.
 Ana-m-AMMA-m-a-mis "belonging to the royal land," XI, 5.
 A-na-am-AMMA-mis, I, 3.
 Ana-me-mâ-a-mis, XXXII, 3.
 Ana-me-mâ "royal place," XXXII, 3.
 Anam-i-mâ, XXXII, 2.
 A-na-m-a-tu "for the great prince," I, 3.
 A-na-me-i "a prince am I," X, 2; XXXII, 1, 3.
 A-nu-wa "I strengthened," VII, 1, 2. See *nu-mis*.
 1D.-A-nu-mâ "place of cross," IX, 4.
 A-nu-mis "crosses," VI, 4.
 Anu-mis, X, 6.
 A-nu(?)-KAI(?), XXXV, 2.
 Ara-a-mâ "of the god Aramis," XXI, 6.
 Ara-me "of Aramis," X, 2.
- Aram-ma-mâ "of the city of A," VI, 4, 5.
 Ara-me-s "king," IX, 2; XXXI, A.
 Ara-mi-is, XXXII, 1.
 Ara-mi-i-s, II, 1; XXI, 1.
 Aram-i-is, VI, 3.
 Ara-mi-ś, XXI, 4.
 Ara-mi-s, XXXIII, A. 1.
 Ara-mis, IX, 2; XLVI, 1.
 Arami-s, XI, 3.
 Aramis, VI, 1, 2; XXI, 3.
 Ara-mi-i, obl. case, II, 2; XXXII, 2.
 Aram-i, II, 4.
 Ara-(am)mi(s), X, 2.
 Ara-me, XXXV, 3.
 Ara-me-wan "of kings," XXXV, 3.
 Aramis-mâ "capital, VI, 3, 4.
 Aram-is-mâ, II, 3, 4; XXXIII, A. 3.
 Ara-me-was "royal," X, 5.
 Arame-was, XXXV, 2.
 Ara-me-i-wan, acc., II, 2.
 Arame-wan, IX, 3.
 Ara-me-nun-un-un "royal palace," VI, 2.
 Ara-am-asi "royal," XXI, 5.
 Ara-mâ-AMMA-wa-m-a "of the land of the royal" (or "of the people of Aramis"), XXXV, 2.
 Aram-a-mis-wa-mâ "of those of the royal land" XXXII, 2.
 Ara-am-asi "royal," XXI, 5.
 Aram-is-i "for the king's people," II, 6.
 Ara-me-s-mis-am-m-a "the King of the Land," IX, 3.

- Aram-is-MIS-am-m-a, IX, 3.
 Aram-is-MIS-am-m-a-mi-[i-is]
 "belonging to the K.,"
 IX, 5.
 Ara-a-kal-mi-i "royal" ?
 XXXII, 3. Perhaps to be
 read Ara-kali-mi "of chief
 priest." But the copies
 vary.
 Ara-wan-nâ-is-me-nas "of the
 city of the royal land,"
 XXXI, 4.³¹
 Ara-DET-ID-wan "belonging
 to the chief dirk-bearer,"
 XI, 2; with the stem *ara*
 cp. Vannic *eri-las* "king."
 Ar(?)-isi-s "uplifter," XXI, 5;
 XXXV, 2. See *isi-isi*.
 Ar-(a)tu-su-uau-ARA-ATU-S, Ar-
 tusuan king of Hamath,
 VI, 1.
 A-si-is "sacred stone," XXXII, 5.
 A-sis-is-na-s "of the land of
 the sacred stone," XXXII, 3.
 Asi-wan, acc., XI, 3.
 A-siun, XXXIII, A. 4.
 Asi-si-i "of those of the
 sacred stone," XV, 1. Or
 perhaps asi-si-i.
 Atu "great," X, 2; XXXV, 3.
 ATU, X, 4; XI, 5.
 Atu-is, IX, 5.
 Atu-i-was "the great," X, 7.
- Atu-was "great one," "lord,"
 XXI, 4, 7; XLVI, 1.
 Atu-wa, V, 1.
 Atû-wa "supreme," V, 2, 3.
 Atû-wan-atû-wan "very great,"
 VI, 4.
 Atu-i "of great ones," XXI, 4.
 A-tu-ta "in the great," II, 4;
 VI, 4.
 Atû-mis "lord," II, 6.
 Atu-i-mis "belonging to the
 goddess Atu," XXXI, A.; or
 simply "lord" ?
 A-tu-mis, XLVI, 3.
 Atu-(a)m-me-i-wan "royal,"
 II, 2.
 Atu-me-i "great am I," X, 4, 8.
 Ata-mes "supreme over,"
 XXXII, 3.
 Ata-(m)is "making great,"
 XXI, 6.
 A-tu-na-i "for him of the land
 of Atu," I, 3.
 Atu-gal "high-priest," VI, 5.
 See *Aba-kali*.
 For *atu* compounded with
anamis see *anam-atu*.
 Attu-ATU-m-a "of brick," XI, 2.
 Attu-si-i "of brick," II, 4.
 At-tâ-a-mis "building of brick,"
 VI, 2.
 At-ta-mis, VI, 1.

³¹ At Fraktin (M. XXX) we read: ARA-ar-wan-NA-ta "in the royal land (Arinna and Arna in the cuneiform) the god(s) I have [sculptured?]." The Jebusite Aravnah, whose name is so variously spelt, seems to bear the Hittite name of Ara-wan-nas "the kingly one" (2 Sam. xxiv, 23). The inscriptions at Fraktin are: (1) "the god Siu" (or Suwas) between the two world-columns attached to the figure of the god; (2) "the goddess Atu" attached to the figure of the goddess; (3) "the high-priest of the high-plac. of Amma" (*isi-mâ AMMA-mâ-me aba-kali*) attached to the figure of the high-priest.

Atta-a-ni-wa "I have built of brick," II, 6.

Attu-mis-wan-mis "he of the city of the brickmakers," XXI, 4.

A-wan-mâ "where," VI, 3. See *wan*.

B

Balu, see *abu*.

G

For *gal*, *galis*, see *kalis*.

Gha-li-a "I have nourished," "provided," XXI, 5.

Ghal-li-a, X, 6.

Ghalu-i-mes "providing," I, 3.

ID.-Gha-[li]-me-mu-ś-i "of those of the corn-land," XXI, 4.

Or gha[li]-me-su-ś-i.

KH

Khalu-khal-gha-a-na-i-is "a Halys-Cilician," XXI, 1.

Khal-gha-na-a-mis "Cilician," XLVI, 2, 3.

Khal-gha-i, obl. case of Khal-ghais, XXI, 6.

Khal-gha-wan, XXXIII, A. 2.

Khal-MA-ś "goddess Khalma," XI, 5.

Khal-m-a "to Kh," XXXII, 5.

Khal-MA, X, 3.

Khal-MA-is "the Khalmian," XI, 3; XLVI, 2, 3.

Khal-MA-me-s "the Akhlamite," IX, 2; XI, 1.

Khal-MA-me-wan, IX, 4.

Khal-MA-m-m-isi "son of the Akhlamite," I, 3.

Khal-MA-m-m-isi-MÂ, XXXII,

2. Perhaps to be divided *Khalmamme isima* "high-place of the Akhlamite."

Khal-[MA]-śar(?)me, king of Carchemish X, 1.

Khatta-i-s "Hittite," VI, 3.

Khat-ti-is(?)i-s "son of the H.," XV, 1.

Khat-ta-gha "of the H.," XXI, 5.

[Khat]-ta-[m]-a "of H. land," XI, 1.

Khat-ta-wan-a-wan "belonging to the Hittites," XI, 2.

Cp. *ana-wa-na-wa-nas* and *Sanda-wa-n-was*.

Khatt-i-nas "of the Hittite land," XXI, 4.

Khat-atu-me-MÂ "the city of Khatum," XI, 2.

I

I-ghan-a-na "of the land of Yakh-an," VI, 1.

ID.-i-is-m-a "place of the obelisk" or "boundary stone," XXXII, 3.

Iru-nu-mis "... strengthening," XXXII, 2. A compound of *nu-mis*.

Ir-katu-nas "of the land of Irkat," VII, I. 1.

Isi "supreme," XXXV, 1, 3.

Isi-abis (or balus) "chief corybant," XXXV, 3.

Isi-s "high," II, 3, 4.

Isi-me-s "exalted," XXXV, 2.

Isi-me-is, XXI, 4.

- Is(i)-mâ "high-place," VI, I, XXI, 6.
 Is-s-AMMA-mâ, XXI, 5.
 I-isi-si-ma-i "of the high-place," XXI, 5.
 Is-si-mâ-a-ta "on the high-place," IX, 4.
 I-isi-si-m-a-na-i "for him of the high-place," XXI, 6.
 Isi-isi "who raises," "makes grow," X, 2. See *ar(?)-isi*.
 Isi-Tarkus, I, 3.
 I-us-i-mâ "high-place," "chapel," XI, 2, 3; VI, 2.
 I-us-i-ta "in the chapel," I, 3; VII, 1, 2.
 I-us-i-mi "of the chapel," XI, 5. Or is it the same word as the next?
 I-us-is-mi-i "of him of the chapels," XXXII, 4.
 I-us-is-mis "he of the chapels," XLVI, 1.
 I-us-is-mis-i "for him of the chapels," XV, 3. Or "for the chapels," mis being the ideograph of plurality.
 [*Iusi* is a lengthened form of *isi*; the "chapel" or "high-place" is ideographically denoted by the altar *is*, No. 5.]
 I-us-ID-ID. "a stella(?)," XXXII, 2.

K

- Kai-wa "I have made," I, 3.
 Kai-DET-wa, II, 3, 4.
 Kai-wa-a, XXI, 6.
 Ka-wa, XLVI, 2, 3.
 Kai-wi "he had made," XI, 4.

- Kai-is-mis "making," II, 2.
 Kai-i-(m)is, II, 4.
 Kai-s, VI, 1; XI, 4, 5, 6; XXXII, 5; XLVI, 3.
 Kai-(m)is, XXI, 6.
 Kai-i-a-(m)is, IX, 4.
 KAI-ka-s, XI, 4.
 Kai-i-(m)is-kai-i-(m)is "causing to make," XV, 2.
 Kai-amma "the work," XLVI, 2. Literally "built place."
 Kai-DET-mâ "form," "structure," IX, 4.
 KAI-ka-(w)i-wan "work," acc. I, 3.
 Kai-wi-nas*-wa "I have constructed," XXXI, A.
 Ka-KALI-s "priest," XXI, 2.
 Ka-li, XI, 4.
 Kalu-mis "priests," XI, 5.
 Kali-wan-yi (?), XXXII, 3. I do not understand this form.
 Kali-(m)is "priest," XLVI, 1.
 Kal-li-ni "priestly," XI, 4.
 Kali-na-s "of the priests'land," XXXII, 1; XXXIII, A. 1.
 Kal-kasu-a-na-s "the Kalkasian," XXI, 2. Probably pronounced Kalkas-ua-nas.
 Kal-kasu-a-na-is, XXI, 1.
 Kal-kasu-a-ni-s, II, 1.
 Kal-kasu-a-wan-nas (*i.e.*, Kal-kasua-UAN-nas), XXI, 5.
 Kal-kasu-a-wan-wa-mis "belonging to the Kalkasians," XXI, 5.
 Kamâ "gate," II, 6, 7; XXXII, 5; XLVI, 2.
 Ka-amma-inâ, VI, 2.

Kami-mi-su-i-s "belonging to the gates," II, 5.
 Kama-mâ-(m)is-u "of the gates," XLVI, 1.
 Kama-ID-is "the fortified gates," XLVI, 3.
 Kamis-a-was "belonging to the two-gated city," XI, 3.
 Ka-mis-KAMÂ, XXXII, 3.
 Kama-mâ-was "of the city of Kama," XLVI, 1. The classical Khamma-nênê.
 Kar-ka-me-is, Carchemish, X, 1.
 Kar-[ka]-me-si-wa-DET.-s, "Carchemishian," IX, 1, 2.
 Kar-ka-me-si-was, XI, 3.
 Kar-ka-me-si-wa - DET. - wan, acc., IX, 5.
 Kar-ka-me-is-m-a "of C.," XI, 2.
 Kar-qa-mâ-isi "of the son of C.," I, 3. For Karqamis-si.
 Kas, Cappadocia, X, 1; XXXV, 3.
 Kasû, X, 3.
 Ka-u-wi-i "of K.," XXI, 4.
 Kas-es "Kasian," IX, 1.
 Kas-was, XI, 3.
 Kasu-wa-i "of the Kasian," XXI, 6.
 Kas-was-mâ, XXXII, 2.
 Kas-wan-na-s "Kasite," IX, 2.
 Kâ-si- . . . " (for the people) of Kas," XXXI, A.
 Kasu-sû(?)s "son of Kas," XXI, 6.
 Kas-KASU-s-mâ "for," I, 3. Literally "in the work," "matter of."
 Kasu-mâ, XXI, 5.

KATU "seated image of deity," XI, 5.
 Katu-s-mâ "image-niches," VII, 1. 2.
 KAT-u-[ka ?]-tu, XXXII, 5.
 Katu-mi-i-is-s "Cataonian," XXI, 1.
 Katu-mi-is-s, XXXII, 3.
 Katu-mi-is-s-i "of C.," XXI, 5, 6.
 Katu(me)-wa "of C. god," V, 1.
 Katu-na "of the C.," IX, 5.
 See Unna-Katu-mâs.
 Katû-tira (?) - ama-wan, city, II, 7.

L

La(l) "given," X, 3.
 La-wi "he has given," IX, 2.
 Li-wa "I have constructed," XI, 3.
 DET.-Li-wa, II, 3; X, 2; XV, 3.
 Li-ma-a-s "walls," II, 3, 5.

M

Mâ "place," XI, 5.
 Mâ-u or Mû "place," "country," XLVI, 1. See M. III, B. 2.
 Mâ-u-tu "of these lands," XXI, 3.
 M-a-DET. "for a city," II, 3. See (a)mâ.
 Mâ-i-wa(s) "halls(?)," I, 3.
 MÂ-MI, XXI, 3.
 M-a-mi-i "for the place(?)," XXXII, 4.
 M-a-mis "places," "foundations," XLVI, 3.
 M-a-nâ-is "belonging to the land," "native," XXXII, 4;

XLVI, 3. See M. IV, B. 2.
 Perhaps for (a)manais.
 Mâ-a-na-i, obl. case, XLVI, 3.
 Cp. Amâ-na.
 Ma-gha-si "fort," XLVI, 2, 3.
 Ass. *makhazi*.
 Mâ-m-wan-yi (?), XXXII, 3.
 Perhaps "belonging to the place."
 Mâ-ID-mâ-nê-i-mis "of the city Mamanes," XXI, 5.
 Ma-ar gha-asis "of Mer'ash," XXI, 2.
 Ma-[ar]-gha-si-ś, XXI, 2.
 Mar-gha-si-i-is, XXI, 1.
 Mar-gha-si-ś-is "son of a Mer'ashian," XXI, 3.
 ID-Ma-asi-m "sacred throne," V, 2. For Masi-mâ; see M. IV, B. 2: (acc.) ma-s-na.
 Mas(?)i-nas "seated on the throne," XXI, 4.
 Mâ-[wa]-is-na-ś, XXXII, 4. Cp. *mâi-was*.
 Me-iu "gate(s)," VI, 4. See mâu.
 Me-iu-MIS "gates," V, 2.
 Me-(m)is "mine," II, 6. Read *mis*.
 Meu-un-DET. "gate-place," acc. XXXII, 2.
 Meu-un, II, 4.
 Me-wa, VI, 2.
 M-ua-i "of the gate-place," II, 5.
 Mi-was-MÂ, XLVI, 2.
 Mi(?)was-mi-is, VI, 1.
 Mis-MIS-[wa] "I erected," VII, 1. 2.
 Mis-MIS-wau-i "I have erected," XXXIII, A. 4.

Mis-mis-MÂ "erecting," XXXII, 3. Here MÂ is a determinative.
 Mis-ni-li-wa "I have built," II, 3. Compound of li-wa and *muššuv*.
 MIS-mi-su-i-s "of buildings," II, 5.
 Mis-gha-mis "Moschian," XLVI, 1.
 Mes-gha-wa "of the M.," XLVI, 1.
 Mis-KASU-ka-s-na-is "of Mazaka(?)," XXXII, 4.
 Mis-ta "in the building," V, 2. From *mis* "to build."
 Mis-ta-m-a, V, 2. Cp. Ardistama, I, 1, mis-ta-amma.
 Mu-ta-a-li-si "son of Mutalli," X, 7.

N

Na-NA-a-was "towers(?)," XLVI, 2, 3.
 Na-wa-tu "great tower(?)," XLVI, 2, 3.
 Na-wa-u-mi-i "belonging to the towers(?)," XLVI, 2.
 Na-nas-wa "I fortified(?)," XLVI, 1.
 Na-ID-na "Nana the goddess of grain," VI, 2. See Ames-Nana.
 ID-na-u "of granaries," VI, 5. Perhaps "store-towers."
 Nâ-mi-is "this," XXXII, 5.
 na-m-a "of this," XV, 3; XLVI, 2, 3.
 nâ-mi-i, XXXII, 4.
 na-m-au "of these," XI, 4.

na-m, acc. XXXI, A.
 nâ-mi-wan, XXXII, 2.
 Ni-m-a "here(?)," XI, 5.
 Nu-mis "strengthening," XXXII,
 2. For anu-mis.
 nu-i-mis, XXXII, 3.
 nu-mi-i, XXXII, 3.

S

Sanda-s "Sandes," II, 2, 6.
 Sanda-da-wa, gen. XXXII, 2, 5.
 Sanda-wi-i, dat. I, 3; II, 4.
 To be read Sandayi.
 Sanda-da-mis-ši-i "for him of
 the land of S.," XXI, 5.
 Sanda-da-au-i-ś "a Sandian,"
 XXXI, A.
 Sanda-da-wan-wa-ID-ś "of the
 city of S.," "a Sandonian,"
 XXXII, 1.
 Sanda-da-wan-ID-wa-s-wa "of
 (god) of the Sandonian
 city," XXXII, 4.
 Sanda-da-was-wan "belonging
 to Sando(n)," acc. XXXIII,
 A. 3. For Sandaua-siua-n.
 Sanda-da-waû-gha-ś, king's name,
 XXXI, A. Means "son of
 Sando(n)"; Greek Sandōkos.
 Sanda-da-au-ti-s, royal name,
 XXXII, 1.
 Sanda-kasu* . . ., name, VI, 3.
 Sanda-*m-m-a-ni-s "of the city
 of Sanda-*mis," II, 1, 6.
 Sanda-*m-m-a-ni, II, 4.
 Sanda-*m-mě-Katu-mi-i-is-s "a
 Cataonian of S.," XXI, 1.
 Sanda-*m-mě-Katu-mi-i-si-is "son
 of a C. of S.," XXI, 1.

Sanda-*m-mě-Katu-mi-is-si-is,
 XXI, 2.
 [San ?]-ga-ra(?) -a-s, IX, 1.
 Sar "love(?)," X, 5.
 ID-si "for the dance," XI, 4.
 si-i-û "for the dancers," XXI,
 6.
 Si-na-ś, royal name, XLVI, 1.
 Si-na-s-m-a "from land of S.,"
 XLVI, 1.
 Si-na-is-m-a-mis "of land of
 S.," XLVI, 2, 3.
 Si-na-s-m-a-na-is-s "native of
 land of S.," XLVI, 1, 2.
 See *manais*. The suffix
-na(is) is attached to Sinas-
 mâ.
 Si-na-is-(a)tu-i "of S. the king,"
 XLVI, 2.
 Si-na-is-ATVI, XLVI, 2.
 ś(?) -u "create," VI, 4.
 Su-uan-wa "I built," V, 2.
 Sun-un-wa "of the temple,"
 IX, 3.
 Sunna-wi "for the temple,"
 XI, 4.
 Sun-na-was "belonging to the
 temple," IX, 3.
 Sun-na-u-is(?) -mâ, XI, 2.
 Sun-un-was-mâ, XI, 3.
 Sunna-me-s "temple-man,"
 XV, 1.
 Sun-un-na(?) -[wa ?], XV, 3.
 Sun (?) -am-ni-is "battlement-
 ed(?)," II, 5.

T

Ta-gha-was "belonging to the
 boundary(?)," XXXII, 5.
 Ti-i-gha-was, XXXII, 3.

Ti-gha-wi, dat. XXXII, 3.
 Borrowed from Assyrian
takhumê.
 Ta- * "formerly(?)," VI, 3.
 Tarku-s, god, XI, 5.
 Tarka-ka-is-na "of the land of
 the Tarkians," XI, 4.
 Tarka-ka-mi-is "a Tarkian,"
 XXXV, 3.
 Tir(?)a-mâ "sanctuary," IX, 5 ;
 XI, 2 ; XXI, 5.
 Tir(?)a-š-mâ "sanctuaries,"
 XXXII, 4.
 Tir(?)a-mis "belonging to the
 S.," XXXI, 4.
 Tir(?)a-mis "sanctuaries," X, 5.
 -Tu "this," suffix, XXI, 3 ;
 XXXII, 5.
 Tu-a-uan-a-na-s "Tyanian,"
 XXXIII, A. 1.
 Tû-u-uan-a-na-s, XLVI, 2, 3.
 Tua-na-i "of Tyana," XXXII,
 1, 3.
 Tu-TUANA, XXXII, 3.
 Tua-na-wan "Tyanian," acc.,
 XXXII, 3.
 Tu-a-tû-s, Tuates, II, 1.

U

U "one," "a," XXI, 1, &c.
 Uan "the *uan*-tree," X, 2. Lite-
 rally "the divine (tree)."
 UANA-si-i "of wood," II, 3.
 Uanna (uana) or Unna (una)
 "god"; cp. Mitannian *ene*.
 Unna "of the god," XXI, 5.
 Un-na-i "for the gods," V, 4 ;
 see XX, 1. 3.
 Un(a)-wa "of god," XXXII, 4.

Un(a)-wi "for the god," XXI,
 3.
 UEN-na-wi "for the god," IX, 1.
 UEN-ni "of the gods," XI, 4.
 UEN-uan-na-ni, IX, 5.
 Un-na-was "divine," XXXII,
 5.
 Un-na-was-i "of the divine
 ones," XXI, 4.
 Un-na-wa-mâ "place of the
 god," XXXII, 5.
 Unna-s-wan "belonging to the
 gods," VI, 2.
 Un-na-Ka-tu-mâ-s-m-[a]-wan-mis
 "belonging to the people of
 the Cataonian god," XXXII,
 5. Cp. the form Attu-mi-
 sua-n-mis.
 Uanna-DET-na-s "of the land of
 Uan," *i.e.*, "the sacred
 land," VII, I. 1.
 Uan-ID.-NU(?) -nu-mis-wa-MÂ "of
 the people of Uan," VI, 5.
 Uan-ID.-NU(?) -mis-wa-MÂ, VI,
 4.
 Uennaka-si "of stone," II, 3 ;
 XXIV, A. (ID.-akasu-wi).
 Uenna-akasu-wa "I have built
 of stone," II, 6.
 Un-nu-kas-u-mis "building of
 stone," XIX, C. 4.
 Uena-akasu-mis-isi "stone-
 cutters," I, 3.
 Uanatu, Uantu, see Wanatu.
 Un-nun-na-mâ "place of the Sun-
 god," XI, 5.
 Un-qa-NU(?) -u-i "of Unqi," VII,
 I. 1.

W

WA "this," I, 3.

Wa-a, XLVI, 1.

Wa-is-a "this," I, 3.

Wa-DET.-m-a "here," XI, 4.

Literally "in this place."

Wa-m-a, VI, 2.

Wa-amma, XLVI, 1, 3.

DET.-Wau-mma, XLVI, 2.

Wa-mâ, VI, 3; XXXIII, A. 3.

Wa-m-a-m "and here," VII, 1.
2.

Wa-m-a-mis "belonging here,"
II, 4, 5; XXXII, 5.

Wa-mâ-mis, VI, 1, 3.

Wa-AMMA-m-a-mis, VI, 3.

Wa-amma-mis, XXI, 3.

Wa-m-a-ta, II, 6.

DET.-Wa-is "these," XI, 5.

Wa-is, IX, 3; XLVI, 3.

Wan "whom," X, 2; XXV, 1.

Literally "him," "this
man."

wa-na "for this," XI, 4, 5.

Perhaps pronounced *na*;
see *na-mis*.

wa-na-wan "this," XI, 2. Per-
haps pronounced *na-wan*.

Wan-was-MI "these," X, 6.

Compound of *wa* and *na*.

Wan-was-i-s-MIS "these," XV,
4.

Wa-mes "this one," "he," IX,
1; XXI, 4.

Wa-MIS-SU-misu "these build-
ings(?)," V, 2; VI, 4. More
probably the demonstrative
"these."

Wa-na-UAN-tu-au-mes-wa "of the
Veneti," XXXIII, A. 3.

Wan(a)-tu-au-si-wan "belong-
ing to the U," XXXIII, A. 3.

Wana-tumi-s "a Venetan,"
XXXII, 1.

Wa-nê-nê (without suffixed *u*)
"wine," XXXII, 4. Perhaps
originally a drink made from
the uan-tree.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF CHARACTERS.

(“*Proceedings*,” March 1903, pp. 150-56.)

CORRECTIONS.—The oblique line, given as DETERMINATIVE No. 2, which is also written perpendicularly, is the vowel *u* and should accordingly be transferred to page 150. The vowel must have approximated in sound to *ü*, since it is not only unjoined with *i*, as in *luliuma* and *-suis*, but is replaced by *i* in the suffixed *-me-u* and *-me-i* “am I,” as well as by the Assyrian *e*, while the name of Lubarna—the first element of which is found in the Li-iu-ba-s (or Li-iu-balu-s) of the Malatiah inscription which I have published in the *Proceedings*, Jan., 1904, p. 23—is also written Liburna by the Assyrians.

No. 2. This should be *au*, *aiü*, *ay*.

No. 4. This should be *wa*, *ua*.

No. 5. *Us* must be deleted. Ideographically the character is *isi*, connected with *iusi-mü* “a high-place,” and *isi* “high.”

No. 6. This should be *was*, *uas*.

No. 8. This *s* is used only before vowels and sibilants, and therefore would have been pronounced like the English *z*.

No. 9. This should be *mis*, *mes*.

No. 10. The *s* will have been pronounced like *z*, since it interchanges with No. 8. Perhaps the vowel was *u* rather than *i*, since we have *uennakasi* (*unnukasi*) by the side of *unnakasu-mis*.

No. 11. Ideographically the knife has the values of *mus* (*mis*) and *sun*, both signifying “to build,” and phonetically the values of *mu* and *su*. The knife with a curved handle (*mu*) seems originally to have been different from that with a straight handle (*su*), but they have coalesced in the later texts.

No. 13. The head is that of a calf, with the value of *am*.

No. 14. Ideographically this was *uana* or *wana*; phonetically its values were *uana* (*wana*), *uan* (*wan*), *un* and *u*. It should be made to face the other way.

No. 15. This had the phonetic value of *na* only. It meant ideographically “this person,” and probably represented the breath. It should be made to face the other way.

No. 16. This should be *ni*. Its use for *unna* “god” was probably due to its being the phonetic complement of *UN-ni*.

- No. 17. This is the head of a sheep.
- No. 22. Ideographically this was *masis* or *masas* "a seat."
- No. 23. This is *ama* rather than *am*.
- No. 24. The phonetic value of *an* should be deleted. Ideographically it denotes the plural.
- No. 25. Perhaps this is *mus* rather than *mes*.
- No. 26. The boot, in its signification of "earth" or "land" was *amma*; its phonetic values were *mi*, *wi* (less usually), *i* or *yi* (rarely), and *amma*. It should be made to face the other way.
- No. 28. Delete the query after *la*.
- No. 30. This should be *ar*.
- No. 31. This should be *nu* or *nê*; the character for *ar* (No. 74) is different. Ideographically it was *gal*, *kal* "a priest."
- No. 32. This may have the value of *ur* as well as *ar*.
- No. 33. The word for "city" is *amis*, not *ara*. Phonetically the character is *mis*, and may also be used for *is*, *me*, *ama*, *ma*.
- No. 34. The word for "bull" (also "calf") is *ama*; hence the bull's head is used to represent *ama*, genitive of *amis*. Phonetically its value is *ama*, *am*.
- No. 36. "To make" is more fully *kai* or *gai*, of which *ka*, *ga* is a contracted form.
- No. 37. Read *Kas* and *Kasu* "Cappadocia" and "Kasian." The phonetic values are *kas* and *kas-u*.
- No. 38. This has the phonetic value of *nu*, *ni*; perhaps also of *qi*.
- No. 40. This must be deleted: the name in M. III, A. 1 is Sanda-**-m-m*.
- No. 41. This is *kâ* or *kâmi(s)* "gate," with phonetic value *kâ*, perhaps also *kam*. The character for *katu* is different; see No. 82.
- No. 42. This represents a seated deity in a niche. Its phonetic value is *katu*, *kadu*.
- No. 44. This has the phonetic value only of *ana*, *na*.
- No. 45. This represents the body of a chariot. Hence the chariot-wheel has the same phonetic value.
- No. 46. As this character interchanges with *ta* in *tagha-was*, *tigha-wi*, it may also have the value of *ta*.
- No. 47. Delete *das*. Ideographically the character is *ata-(mis)* "king," and (*a*)*nunnamis* "powerful."
- No. 48. Delete *ta*. Ideographically the character represents *atu*, *isi*, and *aba*.

No. 49. The character is drawn wrongly. It should be the horse-shoe with the phonetic values *isi*, *is* and *si*.

No. 50. This is ideographically *aba* "a corybant," with phonetic value *ba*. It probably has also the ideographic value of *balu*.

No. 52. The phonetic value of this character is *ghan*.

No. 53. This character has further the value of *lu*.

No. 54. Delete "goddess Khila" and the query after "sacred cake." The phonetic value of the character is *khal*, *ghal*. Ideographically it represents "food," "to nourish," "provide."

No. 56. This has the phonetic value of *am*, *a*.

No. 57. This is phonetically *atu*, *a*. Ideographically it is *atuis* and *aramis* "king."

No. 58. For *ya* read *wa*.

No. 61. This is ideographically *asis*, phonetically *asis*, *sis*, and *asi*.

No. 62. This character represents a heap of corn and denotes Nana "the corn-goddess." The Sun-god is represented by IDEOGRAPH 12, with the value of Unaunnu or Wanawannu.

No. 63. This is the altar with the phonetic value *is*.

DETERMINATIVES.—No. 1. This in the older inscriptions is the determinative only of persons and their titles; later it became a word-divider. It has the pronunciation of *u-na* "one person." It was confounded at an early date with which is shown by a gold seal from Konia, now in the Ashmolean Museum, to have been originally the handle of a sword.

No. 2. This is the vowel *u*; see above.

No. 3. This is the determinative of ideographs, indicating that the character which it follows is used ideographically.

No. 9. Followed by the boot (No. 26) "the earth," the hand with the dirk ideographically represents *atu* "lord" or "king" ("dirk-bearer of the earth").

No. 10. The plough, not an axe, is held in the hand, and the character is the ideograph of "building," "making" with the phonetic value of *mis*, *mus*.

No. 11. The word for god was *uannas* or *unnas*, not *anas*.

No. 13. Read *amis* for *ara*.

No. 14. The character above *má* should be the ideograph of

"gate" (*kâmis* and *meus*) not the plough, and the whole is the determinative of a "gate": see below No. 78.

No. 16. This character is phonetically *na*.

IDEOGRAPHS.—No. 1. Read *aramis* and *atumis* for *sar-mis*. *Sar* was a value borrowed from Assyrian.

No. 2. Read *aramis* for *sar-mes*.

No. 3. Read *ara* and *aramis* for *sar*. With the phonetic complement *tu* it reads *A-tu*.

No. 4. Read *aramis* for *sar*. The character is a picture of the sacred tree.

No. 7. Delete the query after *sunna*.

No. 10. This character has the value of *ara*.

No. 12. *Nana* was the Corn-goddess, *Unaunnu* the Sun-god.

No. 13. This character represents *atu* "great": the symbol is the plough.

No. 14. This character is a picture of a sacred post.

No. 16. Read *wana*, *wan* for *anda*, *yanatu*.

No. 18. This represents a deity seated in a niche with rays on either side, and has the value of *katu*, *kadu*.

No. 19. The word is *ana* "prince."








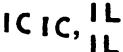




No. 20. The column ideographically denotes "to uplift," also "cause to grow" *ar(?)isi*, and is used as a determinative of *isis* "high."

No. 21. Delete this number.³²









As in Cypriote the surds and sonants (*ka*, *ga*; *ta*, *da*; *pa*, *ba*; *kha*, *gha*) are expressed by the same characters. In the foreign transliteration of Hittite names *wa* appears as *ba* and *pa*, and in the suffixes Mitannian *p* is Hittite *m*. It is probable that *ar*, *ir* and *ur* could also be read *ra*, *ri* and *ru*. Before a vowel or *š*, *s* became *š* (*z*).

³² The first character is *da*, which must be distinguished both from *ga* (No. 80) and from a character which in combination with the phallus(?) represents the syllable *gur* in the name of Gurgum (M. XIX, B. 6, *Gur-gum-m-a-me-DET-me-is-MIS* "he of the city of Gurgum," XIX, C. 9, *Gur-gum* . .). It precedes *kasu* in a name which I am tempted to read *Gu-kasu*, i.e. Qusu (M. XV, A. 2, *Gu-kasu-was-DET.* of city; XIX, C. 16, *Gu-kasu-i-wan*; XXII, *Gu-kasu-wa*).

ADDITIONAL CHARACTERS.

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
64		(gate with steps)	<i>isi</i> "high"	<i>isi</i>
65		(obelisk ?)	<i>ismâ</i> "monument"	<i>is</i>
66		(feet alternating)	<i>si</i> "dance"	<i>si</i>
67		(two feet facing)	"in front"	—
68		(two feet turned away)	<i>tais</i> "former," "of old"	—
69		(cross)	<i>anu</i> "sacred cross"	—
70		(sleeve with rings)	(<i>a</i>) <i>nunna</i> - <i>mis</i> "powerful"	<i>nunna</i>
71		("one man" repeated)	—	<i>uena, una</i>
72		(cut stone)	<i>unnugas</i> "stone"	<i>unnu, un</i>
73		(head-dress)	Amma-Atu "Atu the goddess of the earth."	<i>amma</i> (?), <i>atu</i>
74		(spear-head)	—	<i>ara, ar, ra</i>
75		(fruit ?)	"the god Aramis (the king)"	<i>ara</i>

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
76		—	—	<i>ir, ri</i>
77		(a gate)	<i>kamis</i> "a gate"	<i>kam, kâ</i>
78		(gate-place)	<i>kamâ</i> "city-gate"	<i>kamâ</i>
79		(double gate)	<i>kamês</i> "double gate," <i>nawas</i> "towers of gate"	<i>nawa</i>
80		—	—	<i>qa, qu (?)</i>
81		(trowel in a loop)	—	<i>qam</i>
82		(road through a city ?)	—	<i>katu, kadu</i>
83		—	—	<i>(u)kasu, akasu</i>
84		(a brick)	<i>atu</i> "brick"	<i>at, attu, alla</i>
85		—	"the goddess <i>Atu</i> "	<i>atu</i>
86		(wheel)	—	<i>te, tu(ana)</i>
87		(plant ?)	—	<i>te, tu</i>
88		(cushion ?)	<i>atus</i> "great"	<i>atu</i>
89		—	—	<i>tua</i>
90		(lightning ?)	"the god <i>Tarku</i> "	—

No.	Character.	Object represented.	Ideographic Value.	Phonetic Value.
91		(head-dress ?)	—	<i>mâ . mâ (mâmâ?)</i>
92		(wood-fire ?)	determinative of plurality	See No. 24
93		(cut stones)	<i>unnuk (?)</i> "stone"	<i>uk</i>
94		(dove)	symbol of goddess Khalma	<i>ma</i>
95		(hieratic form of profile)	demonstrative "this" also determinative affix of "people"	<i>na</i>
96		—	—	<i>tû or tumi?</i> Cp. ID., No. 8
97		(vase)	Unun, the Sun-god	<i>nun</i>
98		(altar)	—	<i>pat</i>

As I have already said, the preceding translations with their consistent grammar and rational contents are a sufficient verification of the general correctness of my system of decipherment. But to this must be added the fact that it leads, not only without forcing, but as a matter of necessity, to the discovery of those very geographical names in the inscriptions which we ought to find in them if the characters have been rightly read: Tyana at Tyana, Carchemish at Carchemish, Hamath at Hamath, "Sandonian city" at Herakleia, &c.; to the reading of proper names which we otherwise know to be Hittite, such as Mutalli or Akhlamite; to the spelling out, letter for letter, of grammatical suffixes, and even of words like the preposition *kasma*, which are met with in the cuneiform inscriptions of Arzawa and Boghaz-Keui; to the disclosure of theological and political conceptions which are in exact accordance with what Professor Ramsay has shown to have been prevalent in Asia Minor; and to our finding in so many instances that the inscription when translated turns out to be in harmony with what we might expect from its position or nature. Thus the inscription on the bowl is not that of a prince or king, but proves to have been made "for the great king." Above all, it is, what every correct system of decipherment ought to be, progressive, one discovery leading to another, and serving to confirm and verify the results already obtained.




DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

FIG. 1.

This is the flat side of a silver Hittite seal which I obtained in Constantinople last spring. The seal has the same shape as the chaton of the gold seal Fig. 2, but its convex side is not represented here. The ornamentation surrounding the convex side is a more elaborate reproduction of that on the flat side, and the inscription in the centre contains two additional characters. A hole runs through the seal close to the edge, showing that it was intended to be worn on a neck-chain or else attached to the wrist by a string like a Babylonian seal-cylinder. The flat side would have been used for sealing such materials as papyrus or leather, while the convex side would have been employed for the same purpose in the case of a clay tablet. The seal makes it clear that the so-called "boss" of Tarkondemos is not a boss at all, but the convex side of a similar seal which has lost its under-side. The inscription may be read *ana-is Ka-KAS-su (?) is* "the prince of Kas"; the first *is* and the *su (?)*—the flower of the pomegranate—occur only on the convex side. The ornamentation consists of alternating "trees of life" and pomegranate (?) flowers, to which rosettes representing flowers above the trees of life are added on the convex side.

FIG. 2.

The same ornamentation is found on the chaton of a gold seal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which is said to have been found at Tamassos in Cyprus. If so, it must have been imported from Asia Minor in ancient times. Within the zone of ornamentation are the characters . On the back is a tripod of lion's feet, resembling that of the silver Hittite seal from Bor (Tyana) in the Ashmolean Museum. The inscription, like that on Fig. 9, reads *ara-me* "of the king," and is the same as the first half of the inscription on a seal published by Messerschmidt (XLV, 4) and more correctly by myself in *Proceedings* XXV, 47, No. 9, where it is followed by a proper name.

FIGS. 3-9.

These are from sealing-wax impressions of Hittite seals which have long been in my possession. Some of the originals are said to have come from Boghaz-Keui. The ornamentation upon them is the same as that on Figs. 1 and 2, except that in Fig. 7 the tree of life is replaced by the Hittite equivalent of the Egyptian *ankh*. Figs. 8 and 9 seem to be the reverse sides of the same seal. The eye of the human profile, it will be noticed, is separated from the outline of the nose.

FIG. 10.

Also from a sealing-wax impression. It is interesting as having the two Hittite characters



FIG. 11.

This is a seal-cylinder of polished green steatite found in the early bronze-age cemetery of Paraskevi near Nikosia in Cyprus, which has been in my collection for the last eighteen years. Its interest lies in the fact that it contains an inscription in the characters of the Cypriote syllabary, *mo-to-ta-se*, many centuries older than the earliest inscription of the kind otherwise known. The existence of the syllabary is thus taken back to an age contemporaneous with that of the Kretan linear characters, and justifies the conclusion not only that the Kretan and Cypriote scripts belonged to the same system but also that where the characters in the two scripts are identical in form they probably possess the same values. The cylinder accordingly offers a starting-point for the decipherment of the Kretan linear script. The cylinder is of native Cypriote work (see Myres and Richter, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 134-5); the representation of the ibex and man is found on the cylinders drawn in L. P. di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, Nos. 17, 18, and 21, and A. P. di Cesnola's *Salaminia*, Nos. 10, 11, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.

HITTITE SEALS.

THE *ḤODEŠ HA'ABIB* (חדש האביב) IN WHICH THE EXODUS TOOK PLACE: AND ITS IDENTIFICATION WITH THE *EPIPHI* OF THE EGYPTIAN "NATURE-YEAR."

BY PROF. DR. E. MAHLER.

In the following pages I give my reply to a question which has recently been addressed to me:—

"In what year (about 1200 B.C.) did the visible New Moon and the Vernal Equinox fall on the 1st of the month Epiphi: and the Full Moon on the 14th of Epiphi?"

I have closely considered the subject, and I give the result of the calculation on which all research in this direction must be founded.

First of all, I conclude that the 1st of Epiphi, to which my querist refers, is the 1st of Epiphi of the *vague* year. The Sothis-year cannot be meant, as Epiphi 1 of the Egyptian Sothis-year corresponds to May 16 of the Julian calendar, while the vernal equinox in the period under consideration fell on April 1.

This being settled, I thought it necessary, in order to obtain an accurate answer to the question, to take into consideration the period 1250–1150 B.C., with this result:—

Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.	Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.
		H. M.				H. M.	
1250	IV 28	V 1 17 46	} April 1	1245	IV 27	IV 6 4 19	} April 1
1249	28	IV 20 11 2		1244	27	IV 24 21 7	
1248	28	IV 10 1 55		1243	27	IV 14 4 5	
1247	28	IV 28 22 34		1242	26	IV 3 18 0	
1246	27	IV 18 3 22		1241	26	IV 21 18 14	

Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.	Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.
1240	IV 26	IV 11 11 2	April 1	1205	IV 17	IV 14 2 24	April 1
1239	26	IV 1 0 14		1204	17	IV 3 17 31	
1238	25	IV 19 19 55		1203	17	IV 22 14 38	
1237	25	IV 7 23 2		1202	16	IV 11 20 24	
1236	25	IV 26 15 22		1201	16	III 30 20 53	
1235	IV 25	IV 15 17 31		1200	IV 16	IV 18 13 41	
1234	24	IV 5 2 53		1199	16	IV 7 20 10	
1233	24	IV 23 1 41		1198	15	III 28 9 7	
1232	24	IV 12 18 14		1197	15	IV 15 9 22	
1231	24	IV 2 10 34		1196	15	IV 5 2 24	
1230	IV 23	IV 21 8 53		1195	IV 15	IV 24 1 41	
1229	23	IV 9 16 48		1194	14	IV 13 12 14	
1228	23	IV 28 9 50		1193	14	IV 1 15 30	
1227	23	IV 18 10 34		1192	14	IV 20 7 55	
1226	22	V 6 4 5		1191	14	IV 9 10 5	
1225	IV 22	IV 24 11 31		1190	IV 13	III 29 18 43	
1224	22	IV 14 1 55		1189	13	IV 16 17 2	
1223	22	V 3 3 22		1188	13	IV 6 9 7	
1222	21	IV 22 18 58		1187	13	III 27 2 10	
1221	21	IV 11 7 41		1186	12	IV 15 0 58	
1220	IV 21	IV 30 3 22		1185	IV 12	IV 3 9 7	
1219	21	IV 19 6 0		1184	12	IV 22 2 38	
1218	20	IV 8 6 58		1183	12	IV 11 3 36	
1217	20	IV 26 0 43		1182	11	III 31 6 43	
1216	20	IV 15 10 19		1181	11	IV 18 3 7	
1215	IV 20	IV 5 1 55		1180	IV 11	IV 7 17 2	
1214	19	IV 24 1 55		1179	11	III 28 9 50	
1213	19	IV 12 18 29		1178	10	IV 16 10 5	
1212	19	V 1 16 34		1177	10	IV 4 23 31	
1211	19	IV 21 0 14		1176	10	IV 23 19 26	
1210	IV 18	IV 10 1 41		1175	IV 10	IV 12 22 34	
1209	18	IV 27 17 46		1174	9	IV 1 23 17	
1208	18	IV 13 8 53		1173	9	IV 19 17 2	
1207	18	IV 6 9 36		1172	9	IV 9 2 10	
1206	17	IV 25 9 7		1171	9	III 29 17 2	

Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.	Year B.C.	Julian date of Epiphi 1 of the vague year of the Egyptians.	Date and mean Greenwich time of the true conjunction.	Day of the vernal equinox.
1170	IV 8	IV 17 ^{H. M.} 17 31	} April 1	1160	IV 6	III 28 ^{H. M.} 8 53	} April 1
1169	8	IV 6 10 5		1159	6	IV 16 6 29	
1168	8	III 26 21 22		1158	5	IV 5 15 29	
1167	8	IV 14 16 19		1157	5	III 24 13 26	
1166	7	IV 3 18 0		1156	5	IV 12 6 0	
1165	IV 7	III 22 19 12		1155	IV 5	IV 1 12 0	
1164	7	IV 10 14 24		1154	4	III 22 0 58	
1163	7	III 31 1 12		1153	4	IV 9 0 58	
1162	6	IV 19 0 58		1152	4	III 29 17 46	
1161	6	IV 7 18 0		1151	4	IV 17 17 2	
				1150	3	IV 7 4 34	

[Note that the mean time begins at midnight, and that Memphite time is about two hours earlier than Greenwich time, that therefore, e.g., 4 H. mean Greenwich time = 6 H. mean Memphite time.]

From this it will be seen that during the time under consideration *the New Moon AND the Vernal Equinox never fell on Epiphi 1* of the Egyptian vague year. It certainly happened that Epiphi 1 coincided with the day of the new moon (*cf.* the years 1247, 1233, 1197, 1183, and 1172), but then it was not the day of the equinox. On the other hand again, in the years 1142, 1141, 1140, and 1139 B.C., the day of the equinox fell on Epiphi 1 (April 1, Julian), but the new moon fell on another date:—

1142 B.C.	New moon, IV 8
1141 "	" III 28
1140 "	" III 17
1139 "	" IV 4

I believe I am right in supposing that the enquiry is based on a supposition which for a long time has been floating in my mind, and which was worked out last winter. It is evidently supposed that the month called "Hodeš ha'abib" in the Bible, as the time of the Exodus, was the month Epiphi of the Egyptians, a supposition which appears to be founded on the fact that the Arabs to-day, when

they speak of the “šuhûr el-kebt,” *i.e.*, of the Egyptian months, use the name “Abib” instead of the name “Epiphi.”

This was for many years my opinion also, and last winter I succeeded in placing this supposition on a foundation of *knowledge*. On February 6 of last year, I brought this problem before the session of the historical class of our Academy of sciences (*Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*); a detailed study of this subject will be found in my forthcoming work, which will form a special volume of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*. The essentials I place willingly at the disposal of the Members of the *Society of Biblical Archaeology*, and I shall be very glad if they are considered of sufficient interest to appear in the Society's *Proceedings*, as my work in which this question will be discussed can hardly appear before January 1, 1906.

Among the Egyptians there was, besides the usual year-forms (Sothis-year and vague year), also a so-called “Natural-year” which had its beginning at the first ripening of the field-produce, and whose New Year's Day coincided with the day which the later Israel kept as a festival, “Ĥag habikkurim (תַּג הַבִּכּוּרִים).” In the *Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*, 1882, 169 ff., Erman publishes “Ten contracts of the time of the Middle Kingdom,” and among these the second records the gifts which the hour-priests were obliged to deliver to the High-priests (ober-profeten) on New Year's Day (𓆎). On

the other hand, the latter were obliged to give a part (*ḥqt*) “from every field of the endowment property, the *first-fruits* of the prince's property, in the same way that every subject of Siut does with the first-fruits of his harvest. Also among the husbandmen, every one offers of his first-fruits in the temple.”

On New Year's Day (which is here written with the sign 𓆎 and therefore indicates a permanent year) the *first-fruits* had to be brought to the temple. The Egyptians then already possessed at the time of the Middle Kingdom, besides the usual year-forms, another whose New Year's Day coincided with the first ripening of the field produce. This “Nature-year” was permanent, as is self-evident; but it was not identical with the Sothis-year, which was the normal year of the Egyptians, as that began on July 20 (Julian calendar), and on that day the harvest was long past. It cannot be the vague year either, as at the time of the Middle Kingdom—*i.e.*, circa 2100–1600 B.C.—the 1st of Thoth of the vague year fell

between September 20 and February 1, when there could be no thought of "first-fruits." The New Year's Day of the above-mentioned contracts can then only indicate a special Nature-year which began at the gathering-in of the "first-fruits."

By this, however, we obtain the knowledge of the *most important* cult-historical fact. On New Year's Day of this Nature-year the "*first-fruits*" were brought to the temple of Siut. When we remember that the months of the respective year-forms of the Egyptians bore the same names, that therefore the first month of every year-form was called "Thoth," the second bore the name "Paophi," etc., then we see that the following days preceded the New Year's Day, *i.e.*, Thoth 1st, of every year-form, and therefore also of the Nature-year:—

5 Intercalary days,
30 days, Month Messori,
30 " " Epiphi, etc.

If we then count back *50 days* from the New Year's Day of the Nature-year, on which the "first-fruits" had to be brought into the Temple, we come to EPIPHI 16. According to the Bible (Lev. xxiii, 15, 16), Israel was commanded to count 50 days from the 16th of the first month, which month was also called "Ḥodeš ha'abib," *i.e.*, the month Abib, in order to celebrate the "Ḥag-habikkurim" = "*Festival of the first-fruits.*" The analogy between the usage of the ancient Egyptians and that of Israel is so striking that we can both identify, without anything further, the Ḥag-habikkurim of Israel with the New Year's festival of the Nature-year of the ancient Egyptians, and also the month Abib of the Bible with the month Epiphi of the Egyptians—especially with the Epiphi of the Nature-year.

The Ḥodeš ha'abib (חֹדֶשׁ הָאֵבִיב) in which the Exodus took place, is therefore to be identified with the month Epiphi of the Nature-year of the Egyptians.

A KABBALISTIC CHARM.

BY P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *B.A.*

This charm, of which an illustration is given, was bought four years ago in the Little Market at Tangier, and is believed to have come from the interior of Morocco. It measures 21" \times 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ " and was obtained for Mrs. Hankinson of Westgate-on-Sea by a dragoman, and is at present her property. She has been kind enough to allow me to publish it.

The charm is of the *Menorah* or "candlestick" type, so called because its central feature is always a seven-branched candlestick. The place of origin is Spain, which was a hotbed of Jewish superstitions until 1492, when the Jews were expelled taking with them the secret and abstruse lore of the Kabbala, which soon found great favour with their brethren in Europe and N. Africa. Mr. Margoliouth informs me that the amulet in question cannot be earlier than the XVIIth century. It is made of stout parchment and shows signs of having been nailed up on the wall of a house, doubtless to keep away evil influences from the inhabitants. The border together with the trees and rosette at the bottom are painted crudely in red, green and yellow. The birds and fishes are also in red and green, and some of them have black spots on a yellow ground.

Along the top are eight tablets. Nos. 1-5 read: *Speak unto Aaron and say unto him, when thou settest up the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candlestick. And Aaron did so; he set up the lights thereof in front of the candlestick as the Lord commanded Moses. And this was the work of the candlestick, beaten work of gold; from the base thereof unto the flowers thereof it was beaten work according to the pattern which the Lord showed Moses, so he made the candlestick* (Numb. viii, 1-5). The rest is obscure but may refer to Exod. xxv, 31 ff.

The centre of the main register is occupied by the seven-branched candlestick above which is the divine tetragrammaton יְהוָה with אֱלֹהֵי inscribed on it. Across the top of the candlestick

is written: *For the hope of the living is in thy light, let us see light.* Each of the seven branches bears a similar pious ejaculation. Very noticeable are the two hands with outstretched fingers, the well known preventative against the machinations of the evil eye. On the fingers is written the blessing: *The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face to shine on thee, etc.* (Numb. vi, 22 ff.). On the palms are the following angels' names: *Metatron*,¹ *Qatsiel*, *Qastiel*,² *Yohak*,³ *Kulak*,⁴ *Asel*,⁵ *Sunadelphun*,⁶ *Samarkar*,⁷ *Agla*,⁸ *Taphtaphiah*.⁹ On either side of the hands is a tablet like those on the top of the amulet but larger. Each contains texts chiefly about light, the one beginning with "*A lamp unto my feet is thy word*," etc. (Ps. cxix, 105), the other with "*Arise, shine, for thy light is come*," etc. (Is. lx, i). In the two little squares above are the first words of the last six commandments (Ex. xx, 12-18). And above them again in the larger squares is written: **שׁוֹיְתִי יְהוָה לְנִגְדִי תָמִיד כִּי מִיְמִינִי בָל אֲמוֹרָט**, which by including the large written **יְהוָה**, is "*I have set the Lord before me continually, because he is on my right hand I shall not be moved*" (Ps. xvi. 8).

Below the palms of the hands are the usual Kabbalistic "square words" by which the initiated were enabled to conjure spirits, while underneath and dotted about the parchment are various Kabbalistic enigmas. Of these **אֲנִקְתָּם פִּסְתָּם פִּסְפָּס דְּיוֹנָסִים** probably = *ἄνγκτες* "Ἡφαίστος παμφάγος Διονυσίος, while its numerical value is equivalent to **אֲדִירִירֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוֹבִים**¹⁰ Corresponding on the other side is **דַּעֲלַפְנִי מֵאֲתֵר**.

¹ Corruption of *μετὰ Θρονού*. Cf. Schwab, *Angelologie, Academie des Inscriptions et B. Lettres*, 1897.

² Qastiel, **קַסְטִיָּאל** God's truth. Schwab, *loc. cit.* The preceding Qatsiel is probably the same corrupted.

³ Yohak, acrostic formed by the last letters of the words **כִּי מֵאֲכִיז יִצְוֶה לָךְ**. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Kulak. Name of an angel who protects travellers. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Asel, for **אֲסִיָּאל** (?). Angel of healing. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁶ I.e., *συνάδελφον*. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Acrostic of the last letters of each verse, Gen. i, 1-5. Name invoked by travellers. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Acrostic from the words on David's buckler **אֲתָה נָבוֹר לְעוֹלָם אֲדָנִי**. Schwab, *loc. cit.*

⁹ I.e., divine might, with **טפ** reduplicated.

¹⁰ Cf. Schwab, *Angelologie, Academie des Inscriptions et B. Lettres*, 1897.

"Because of excellent". צַרְלֵשׁ וְהַסְמַת פִּנְמִכָאֵר אַנַּף. is unintelligible to me. *Anaf* is known as the name of an angel. פִּנְמִכָאֵר may possibly be a corruption of פְּנִיבּוּר, itself a corruption of יוֹפִיטוּר = Jupiter.¹¹ נָגַף שֵׁנָף אִישׁ פֶּפֶּף may be connected with שֵׁנָף נָגַף פֶּסְקִין סִגְרִין אֲמִנִין, which was said at the end of the Sabbath.¹²

Touching the candlestick where the seven branches join are two pair of Tongs called the "*Malqachaim*." Below are two curious objects which are meant for the snuff dishes, and which are called the "*Machtloth*."¹³ These objects nearly always appear with the candlestick in *Menorah* amulets. To the left of the base of the candlestick is a flight of steps which bears the following legend: "*The top stone; on it are three steps on which the priest stood when he prepared the lamps in the sanctuary;*" while underneath is written: לֵישׁ וְעֵתְכֶקֶן יְתִי י. This has been identified by Schwab in *MS. hébr. No. 603 f. 141b* of the *Bibliothèque nationale* as five words constituting v. 18 of Gen. xlix so arranged and vocalized to give it a trilateral aspect. It also forms (*ibid. f. 165b*) the horizontal base of the transcription of Ps. lxxviii, of which the words are arranged in the likeness of a candlestick with seven branches.

The birds, trees and fishes are crudely painted and of small artistic merit. They may have some occult meaning, but are more probably entirely ornamental, like the painted border.

There is no doubt that this charm was considered very potent to keep away the evil eye, sickness, the powers of darkness, etc. That amulets of this kind were very popular among the Jews is evidenced by their number, and by the widespread influence of the Kabbala even up to the end of the eighteenth century.¹³ I understand, however, that modern Judaism, following Maimonides, condemns the use of amulets, but all evidences of any modern practice of the "Practical Kabbala"¹⁴ must necessarily be of great use to those interested in magic and kindred studies.

¹¹ Cf. Schwab, *Angelologie*, *Académie des Inscriptions et B. Lettres*, 1897.

¹² Cf. Exod. xxv, 38.

¹³ Cf. the Eybeschütz and Emden controversy.

¹⁴ That is to say, the utilising of the secrets in the Kabbala to work charms and magic.



A KABBALISTIC CHARM

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, December 13th, 1905, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Dr. Pinches: "Notes upon some Tablets of the period of Hammurabi's dynasty."

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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Seventh Meeting, December 13th, 1905.

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PUBLISHED AT

THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

1905.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1905.

Seventh Meeting, December 13th, 1905.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

September, 1905.—THOMAS CHRISTY, ESQ., *F.L.S.*
One of the original Members of the Society.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :—

From F. Legge, Esq.—“Urkunden der Älteren Äthiopienkönige.”

Part I. By Dr. H. Schäfer.

„ „ „The first of Empires.” By W. St. Chad
Boscawen.

P. Scott Moncrieff, Esq., *B.A.*,

was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

Dr. Pinches : “Notes upon some Tablets of the period of
Hammurabi’s dynasty.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

VI.

Chronicles.

By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

The name *Chronicles* applied to two books of the Bible in the English version was, no doubt, adopted by the translators from a name given to them by Jerome, the favorite Father of the Reformers, in his *Prologus Galeatus*, in which, speaking of these books, he says: "*Chronicon totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare.*"

In his own translation of the books he retains the name which it seems to have borne in the older Latin version, namely, "*Paralipomenon*," which was directly transcribed from the name they bore in the Septuagint, τὰ παραλειπομένων. The meaning of this Greek title has been disputed. The general opinion is that it means "*Things omitted.*"

In Hebrew the books are named, as Jerome again says, *Dabre aiamim* (*Dibhērē Hayyāmim*), and he adds, *id est verba dierum*, or annals. The two books formed a single one in the Hebrew Bibles. Jerome says expressly, "*apud Hebræos liber Paralipomenon unus fit * * * qui propter magnitudinum apud nos divisus est.*" In the Naples edition of the Hebrew Bible, 1487, they occur as one book. Lastly, as Mr. Ball acutely points out, "that *Chronicles* was originally only one book is evident from the Masoretic note at the end of the Hebrew text, which states that 1 *Chronicles* xxvii, 25 is the middle verse of the whole book;" "moreover," he adds, "Josephus, Origen ap Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 25, Jerome and the Talmud reckon only one book of *Chronicles.*"

They must have been separated by the Christians at an early date, since they occur in two books labelled α and β in the great

Greek uncials, and in the early lists of Melito and Hilary. Ruffinus, who follows the Hebrew tradition, however, mentions only one book. As we have seen in previous papers, and as indeed is universally acknowledged, Chronicles were once continuous with Ezra—Nehemiah and formed one unbroken book. This was certainly the case in the Septuagint as we have seen, and as is proved by Esdras A, which represents that translation, and in which the narrative goes continuously over the present gaps between the books. It was, no doubt, as one continuous book that Josephus knew the work, a fact to be remembered when we consider what was meant by his enumeration of the Canonical books of the Bible. The breaking asunder of Chronicles from Ezra—Nehemiah, was, as we have seen, doubtless the handiwork of the Jamnia doctors who first edited the Masoretic Bible. Their reason for doing so we shall discuss presently.

Let us now turn to the text of Chronicles, which I shall treat as a single book.

It is quite plain that if the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Greek uncials are in no sense Septuagint texts, the same conclusion must apply to Chronicles. The duplicated verses at the end of Chronicles and at the beginning of Ezra are a witness to the fact that the two books in their canonical form in the Greek MSS. are from the same hand. They form continuous portions of the same work, and there is no evidence of any kind that the compilers of the great Greek MSS. took the Greek translation of Chronicles from one source and that of Ezra from another. Inasmuch as we have seen that the Greek Ezra was taken from Theodotion's or some other second century translation, it follows that the canonical Greek Chronicles was taken from the same work. This view, as Professor Torrey showed in a previous number of the *Proceedings*, was first affirmed by Grolius in his annotations to the Old Testament, and has received Mr. Torrey's own powerful *imprimatur*. On the other hand, it is equally clear that if Esdras A represents the Septuagint text of Ezra, as is now generally allowed, the first chapter of Esdras A, which is equivalent in contents to 2 Chronicles xxxv, 1—xxxvi, 21 inclusive and is continuous with it, represents those two chapters in their Septuagint form and language, which is quite different from that of the canonical Greek Chronicles. It is very much to be hoped, therefore, that the editors of the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint will not, as other professed editors of the same

version have done (to the confusion of us all), take over the so-called canonical Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah from the great Greek uncials, but give us instead an edition of Esdras A with variants, and reserve the former work for some future edition of Theodotion's or some other translator's Greek text.

So far as I know, the book of Esdras A preserves intact the only fragment of Chronicles which we can positively say was derived directly from the Septuagint. That fragment differs completely, as is of course well known, in its language, while it also differs in some of its statements from the document we know as the corresponding part of the canonical Chronicles.

The fragment in question, forming the first chapter of Esdras A, corresponds to the last two chapters of Chronicles, excluding the last two verses known as the duplicated verses, from their being duplicated in the first two verses of Ezra i. Of these two chapters and these only have we therefore any continuous portion of the Septuagint Chronicles preserved.

The translation of Chronicles in the Greek Bibles was really a Greek translation of the Masoretic text. It is not surprising, therefore, to find one author after another speaking of the canonical Greek Chronicles as being a very faithful translation from the Hebrew. Thus Reuss calls it "strictly accurate and strictly literal." This merely means that in the view of these critics the Greek Chronicles follows the Masoretic text very closely, which is another proof of its being the work of Theodotion or some other translator and not of the Seventy.

On the other hand, the fragment which I claim to be a part of the true Septuagint text has more than one important variant in which its superior authority and accuracy are patent.

There is one instance which is exceedingly remarkable as a proof not only that the Septuagint of Chronicles is represented by the fragment in chapter i of Esdras A, but that the text of Chronicles in the corresponding chapter has been tampered with, or is very corrupt, in the Masoretic text.

In the first chapter of Matthew and the 11th verse we read: "and Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brethren at the time of the carrying away to Babylon." In Esdras A i, 32, we have in Codex B, *i.e.*, the Vatican Codex: "and the people took Jechonias and made him king instead of Josias his father," Swete, Vol. II, p. 131, and this is followed by the Vulgate. In the Masoretic text of 2 Chronicles

xxxvi, 1, on the other hand, we read "the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah and made him king in place of his father." This is followed by the Alexandrian text or Codex A of Esdras A (Swete, *loc. cit.* note).

There cannot be a doubt, I think, therefore, that the author of Matthew who used the Septuagint had a text of Chronicles before him like that preserved in Esdras A, ch. i, and not like that in the Masoretic Bible.

This is by no means the only alteration in the Masoretic text of this chapter. In the Masoretic text of Chronicles xxxvi, 9, we read Jehoiachim was eight years old when he began to reign. In the Alexandrian text of Esdras A i, 41, we read he was eighteen years old, and this is not only confirmed by the same Greek text of Chronicles and also by the Syriac, but by the corresponding passage in the book of Kings, even in the Masoretic version itself, namely, in Kings xxiv, 8.

Again, in the 46th verse of Esdras A we are told how Nebuchadnezzar made Zedekiah king of Judah. The corresponding passage in the Masoretic Chronicles xxxvi, 10, says, "Zedekiah his brother." He was really his father's brother, as the Greek text reads it (see Swete, II, p. 127), and as the Masoretic text rightly reads it in the corresponding passage in Kings ii, 24. These examples show how exceedingly faulty the Masoretic text of Chronicles is in important statements of fact, compared with the Septuagint of corresponding passages as preserved in Esdras A, i.

Let us now pass on to another issue in which I venture to differ very materially and seriously from the critics. They start with the premise that the work Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah was originally a Hebrew composition, and that we have it substantially as it was originally written, in our present Masoretic text. I believe, on the contrary, that it was not written in Hebrew originally at all but in Aramaic, and that the Hebrew text, as we have it, is a translation from this Aramaic original. It was probably only made when or perhaps even after the Masoretic Bible was first put together by the doctors at Jamnia, and not earlier than the second century, and neither Josephus nor the writers of the New Testament had probably ever seen the work in Hebrew at all, which accounts very reasonably for their using during the period covered by the joint book only the Septuagint version. This conclusion, if sustained, and I have no doubt whatever of its soundness, is one of very great importance,

and I propose to give some reasons for it, which may be amplified on another occasion.

In an earlier paper of this series I recalled the remarkable fact, which has not been enough commented upon, that in the great Greek uncials there were contained two separate editions of one and the same work, namely, the canonical book of Ezra and the apocryphal book known as Esdras A, and I made the fact of the duplication of this narrative in the costly and stately MSS. we call uncials the basis of a considerable induction.

In the books of Chronicles we have a duplication of narrative on a larger scale which is even more remarkable, because it is contained not only in the Greek MSS. but also in the Hebrew ones, and because it cannot be explained as an editorial freak, but was a deliberately planned and prepared repetition of a long narrative. The book of Chronicles is of course to a very large extent a mere *rechauffée* and re-editing of the books of Samuel and of Kings. It contains occasional additional matter and it excludes matter (*inter alia* it excludes the history of the kings of Israel as contrasted with those of Judah; an exclusion which was also doubtless quite determinately done with a distinct purpose and *Tendenz*). When these additions and omissions are accounted for, we still have remaining a large proportion of the book of Chronicles in a form which makes it a mere epitome and *rechauffée* of "the four books of Kings." What possible motive or purpose could underly such a curious literary fact? Why should such a reduplication have been made, and when made why should it have found its way into the accepted Scriptures of the Jews? Surely there is something of paradox and difficulty in it all.

The usual explanation seems to me quite inadequate, namely, that it was meant to enforce certain doctrinal and ritual views which had become current, and to present the history of the Chosen Race as it looked to the eyes of one of the later priesthood, who had become imbued with the teaching of the Deuteronomic law; that it was, in fact, a polemical rather than an historical work. This view seems to me to be altogether lacking in probability. Of course, the book is tinged and coloured by the prevailing ecclesiastical atmosphere of the time when it was compiled. It would be odd if it were not so, for it is unlikely that the compiler should have been any one but an ecclesiastic, but it seems an altogether fantastic notion that the author rewrote a long narrative in the Bible, not to

displace the earlier story which had become inconsistent with orthodox tendencies at the time, and which was retained intact beside it as a corrective or antidote to it if need be, and that he did this merely as a cover for the promulgation of novel views as to the priesthood. Surely it would have been more to the point and more adequate to such a purpose, to write an entirely independent work, in which the new teaching should not be largely buried out of sight in an entirely foreign matrix and setting. The view in question, as I have said, seems to me quite fantastic. If the priests had meant such a measure by their handiwork, they would surely have cancelled the books of Samuel and of Kings. The only explanation of the facts which seems to me to be reasonable and adequate, is that the book was not written specially for the priests or the learned class, but was an historical manual condensing that portion of the history which had a living interest for the Jewish people, and bringing it down to their own time. For the learned the story was already available in a longer narrative in the books of Samuel and of Kings.

If this be a reasonable explanation, then it follows that the book would not be written in Hebrew, which was then a dead and purely a learned language, but in Aramaic, which was the living language of the Jews at the time. A knowledge of Hebrew was doubtless preserved among the priests and the specially educated, as Sanscrit is in India and as Latin was throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, but among the ordinary Jewish people both in Babylonia and Palestine it had been displaced as a spoken speech by Aramaic. About this I fancy there is very little doubt or room for doubt. In the book of Ezra we have very clear proofs of it in several Aramaic documents, which were issued from the chancellery of the Persian kings in Babylonia and were addressed to the grandees of Palestine. It follows, therefore, as almost certain that a work written at the time, if it was meant to be read by the ordinary reader, must have been written not in the dead language, Hebrew, but in the living language, Aramaic.

This seems sound *a priori* reasoning and, if so, then it makes it very probable that the book of Chronicles, as originally compiled and written, was not composed in Hebrew at all but in Aramaic. Thus it becomes in origin in effect a Targum on Samuel and Kings. Dr. Barnes has already called it, in its Syriac dress, a Targum, but I do not think he quite means what I mean. He means a paraphrastic and explanatory edition; I mean that it was originally

composed and written in Aramaic or so-called Chaldee, and was never a translation of a Hebrew original into Aramaic, as the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were. It differs from them in being an original composition and not a translation, and in belonging to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. instead of the 1st or 2nd A.D.

If this be so, then the Hebrew or so-called Masoretic text of Chronicles is not an original document at all but, as I have said, a translation into Hebrew of an Aramaic document, and the Septuagint of Esdras A similarly represents a translation not from the Hebrew but also from Aramaic.

If this was the real history of the text of Chronicles, we then have an excellent reason for the existence of the book. The duplication of the history as contained in Samuel and Kings was a duplication caused by the necessity of having a history of the country which could be understood and read by the people, and not merely by archæologists and scholars.

Inasmuch as the book when thus written contained a considerable number of variants, while to it was added considerable new matter very interesting to the Jews, and bringing the history down much later, it was doubtless felt by the compilers of the Masoretic Bible, or rather more probably by a later generation of Jewish doctors, that it was convenient and indeed necessary that a translation of it should be placed in the Bible alongside of the original text, just as in the great uncial bibles the Greek of the Septuagint (as represented by Esdras A) was put alongside of the other Greek version as represented by the canonical Ezra. This seems to be a complete and quite satisfactory explanation of the duplication of the narrative. It is a curious fact, and one strongly supporting this contention, that just as the book of Esdras A became afterwards an object of suspicion to the constructors of a mechanical canon of the Old Testament among the Christians, so the book of Chronicles was treated with suspicion by many of the Jews, and in unison with them by some of the Christians.

Although so like in the nature of its contents to both Samuel and Kings, the Jews have always placed the work in a very different and subordinate position in their canon, namely, among the Kethubim or Hagiographa, which, Professor Brown suggests, is probably due to the late date at which canonical authority was ascribed to it (Hastings, *Bib. Dict.*, I, 388).

Among the books which have never been, and are not, read in

their public worship by the Jews now, Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah are specially named. What is more remarkable, none of them are actually quoted in the New Testament.

Not a single quotation again is extant from Aquila derived from any of these books, which goes to show that when he published his translation from the mother MS. of the Masoretic text, they were not treated as canonical, and had probably not been translated into Hebrew. What is more strange and more eloquent of the same fact is that they do not seem to have existed in the earliest edition of the Peshitta, which I believe was originally as much a Targum for the use of Syriac-speaking Jews as the Targum of Onkelos on Genesis was for Aramaic-speaking Jews.

The prejudice underlying all this seems to me to have been clearly due to the book having been written in other than the old sacred tongue, and it accordingly had great difficulty in being accepted by the rabbins as canonical, just like other books written in Aramaic or Greek had.

When this prejudice was presently overcome it was only partially so. In the first place the book was divided in two and the two sections were widely separated in the order of the books. Ezra and Nehemiah were doubtless deemed most necessary and illuminating books, for they contained the only record of the return of the Jews from bondage and the rebuilding of their Temple. After being re-arranged, re-edited, in parts largely interpolated (as I have shown), and then translated, they were accordingly put in their logical sequence after the books of Kings, while in the great majority of MSS., Chronicles, for which the same pressing necessity did not exist, were ignominiously put at the end of the Bible, and this notwithstanding that the separation had taken place so rudely that the book in the Hebrew version ends with a broken and incoherent verse, and thus the whole Bible itself ended with a broken sentence.

Among the Syrian Christians, who largely followed the Jewish tradition, the book was treated with the same scant courtesy. The Nestorians and Jacobites both held the book to be uncanonical, as they did Ezra and Nehemiah (see Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1868, p. 1826). Ephraem Syrus, who died in 373, has left no commentaries on it. Bar Hebræus has no scholia on it, nor is it cited in his grammar (Frankel, *Die Syr. Uebersetzung zu den Buchern der Chronick*). It is cited, however, by Aphraates, as he cites Ezra

and Nehemiah. His citations of Chronicles do not quite correspond with the received Syriac text however. Is it possible that he quotes directly from the original Aramaic, merely altering the phraseology into the standard Syriac of his time? (See Nöldeke, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1876, p. 1290.)

Aphraates tells us he composed his works in 337, 344, and 345 A.D. (Nöldeke, *En. Britt.*, XXII, 827). Chronicles as well as Ezra and Nehemiah occurred in the lost volume of the "Codex Ambrosianus," which was a copy of Paul of Tella's Syriac version made in the beginning of the 7th century.

Of Chronicles there is also a MS. of the 6th century in the British Museum, Add. 17104, Wright's *Catalogue*, I, 16. He says of it: "This MS. contains the two books of Chronicles according to the Peshittā version." (See Nöldeke, *Alttestamentliche Literatur*, 263 f.) It would seem therefore that by this time the books we are discussing had been added to the canon of the Peshitta version.

So much then for the *a priori* argument and external evidence in favour of the original language of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah having been Aramaic, and for the late date of the Hebrew version of it. Let us now turn to the internal evidence. I will first quote the opinions of some readily accessible commentators, who have none of them, however, reached my main conclusion.

Most commentators have remarked upon the presence of Aramaic elements in the Hebrew text of Chronicles. Thus in Dr. Green's *Bible Handbook*, ed. 1904, we read: "In regard to the language of the books, it may be noted that in Chronicles we have Aramaic forms (1 Chron. 11³⁵, 13², 18⁵, 2 Chron. 10¹⁸), and later words and expressions (1 Chron. 14², 19¹², 21², 2 Chron. 16⁴)" (*op. cit.*, p. 463). Dr. Davidson, in Kitto's *Encyclopædia*, speaks of the variations in the book as for the most part showing "Aramaizing pronunciation" (*op. cit.*, I, 504). In the article on Chronicles by Robertson-Smith and Davidson in the *Enc. Biblica*, we read: "The style of the Chronicles has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically late linguistic novelties which are not confined to the vocabulary but, as König's *Syntax der heb. Sprache* fully shows, extend to the syntax, but it has also a number of special mannerisms, modern words, often with Aramaic affinities, inelegant syntax, cumbrous and uncouth sentences in strongest possible contrast to the care and grace of the earlier

Hebrew historical books. These are the predominant marks of the Chronicler's style," I, 772.

In the article on Chronicles in Hastings's *Dictionary*, pp. 389, 390, a large number of words is given which do not occur earlier than in that book, and among them are specially named several with Aramaic equivalents, as in 2 Chron. 2⁷, 1 Chron. 13¹², 1 Chron. 15²⁷, 2 Chron. 29²¹, 1 Chron. 12¹⁸, 21¹¹, 2 Chron. 29¹⁶, ²². The same writer also points out peculiarities of grammar and syntax bespeaking "evident Aramaic influence in the language" (*id.*, 392). Lord A. Hervey, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, speaks of the language of these books as having a marked Chaldee colouring. The chief Chaldaisms are the use of certain words not found in Hebrew, or of words in a different sense, or of a different orthography, of which he gives examples, and the interchange of נ and מ at the end and at the beginning of words (*op. cit.*, I, 431). In Horne's introduction, 10th edition, edited by Horne, Davidson and Tregelles, Vol. 2, p. 269, we read: "The diversity between the parallels consists also in a varying orthography, such as the more frequent use of the so-called *scriptio plena*, Aramæan and later forms of words, alterations of construction, grammatical corrections, etc." Rawlinson in his work on Chronicles in the *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 157, says of its phraseology: "It has numerous Aramæan words." Of these he quotes several.

All these commentators, and the number might be multiplied by appealing to German writers, agree that the Hebrew of Chronicles shows large traces of Aramaic influence. They would probably explain this as due to the fact that the book was written at a late date, when Hebrew had itself become a corrupt language. This does not seem to me to really meet the case. If the book was written originally in Hebrew, it was certainly written at a time when Hebrew, corrupt or otherwise, had long ceased to be a spoken language, and had become a crystallized dead language like Sanscrit or Latin, and its use was limited to scholars, and probably to the priests. In composing a fresh work in a dead language, especially a serious work, it would be very unusual to find the writer indulging in colloquialisms and in the speech of the crowd; on the contrary, the tendency is always in such cases to exaggerate and stiffen the rules of syntax, etc., etc., which have been consecrated by long prescription. It was thus the writers of the Renaissance wrote their Latin works, and it was thus also that the mediæval Latinists

did the same. Where in such conditions we have a large number of colloquialisms and modern words in the text, the chances are that the text is a translation, and the result of the translator adopting forms from the script he was following.

But in the present case we can go much further, and especially can we do so in that part of the once joint book which we call the canonical Ezra.

In the book of Ezra, iv, 7, 23, v, 6-vi, 12, and vii, 12, 26, there are a number of documents professedly written in their original language. These documents are in Aramaic. It has been hinted by those who have made only a casual examination of the problem, that these Aramaic documents prove nothing, since they are naturally quoted as documents, but in several cases, as has been well said, the connecting narrative is also in Aramaic. Examples of this connecting narrative in Aramaic may be seen in Ezra iv, 24, v, 1-5, and vi, 13-18. Professor Torrey, in a letter which he wrote to me and which was published in the *Proceedings* of this Society, enlarges on the obviously Aramaic origin of other parts of Ezra. This fact is most important. It is possible, though hardly likely, that a scribe writing a book for a Hebrew-reading audience, and professedly in Hebrew, might quote documents in a foreign tongue; this would be exceedingly unlikely in an ancient writer, and the suggestion is in fact importing quite modern notions into the old world. Even now a person writing a popular history would naturally translate such documents, *a fortiori* would this have been the case in an ancient narrative. If this was so with the documents, assuredly it is inconceivable that such an author, either a modern or an ancient author, would also write the intervening narrative, explanatory of the documents and connecting them together, in a foreign tongue. This seems to me, and has always seemed to me, incredible, and the fact of the existence of this intermediate narrative in the passages in question seems to me irrefragible proof that a considerable part of Ezra was originally written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic. This view has, of course, occurred to others, thus Mr. Batten says: "4⁸⁻⁶ 18. This passage is written in the Aramaic language and is a portion of a more or less complete history of these times written originally in Aramaic. The compiler, finding his best sources for this period in Aramaic, incorporated considerable portions without translation" (article "Ezra and Nehemiah," Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 823). I do not

quite follow this, however, unless it be conceded that the compiler not merely inserted certain documents, but that he inserted sections of an original Aramaic chronicle in which these documents were imbedded. It seems impossible to understand how he could turn from Hebrew to Aramaic and from Aramaic to Hebrew in writing his narrative. On the other hand, a translator, writing at a later date, might well, either by inadvertence or otherwise, leave portions of the narrative intact as he left the documents intact.

Lastly, I would explain in the same way the extreme corruption of the Hebrew text of Chronicles. This is universally admitted, and it includes not only a general and fantastic exaggeration of numbers, etc., in which it is at variance with the older books, but also in a remarkable corruption in the orthography of the proper names. This infirmity seems to me only explainable as the result of translation from a misunderstood original or a corrupt MS. To these corruptions I may call more special attention on another occasion, at present I will conclude with a general *résumé* of the main conclusion of this paper, which is, that the originally united work of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah was composed in Aramaic as a *vade mecum* of their history for the Aramaic post-exilic Jews. That it was from this Aramaic original that the Septuagint was translated, while the Masoretic text was a much later Jewish translation of the 2nd or perhaps 3rd century A.D., and, lastly, that the book of Esdras A preserves for us the only intact portion of the original Septuagint text of Chronicles.

In the next paper I shall turn to the book of Daniel and shew that, in the matters here referred to, it is an exact parallel to Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah.



THE EARLY MONARCHY OF EGYPT.

BY PROF. W. M. F. PETRIE, *F.R.S., F.B.A., &c.*

When four years ago I published the great mass of documents of the early kings, which I had found in their tombs at Abydos, I gave a first sketch of the order in which they were to be placed according to the evidences. This material has now been discussed by others, and it is time that some statement should be made of how far new considerations may modify the first statement, and how far points that have been overlooked may change the value of the criticisms that have been made. It is not desirable to spend print and time over views which are not accepted by other scholars: such as Narmer being Bezauf of the IIInd dynasty, an idea based on a mistake about the hieroglyph and an entire ignoring of the art. The one serious paper of constructive criticism that has appeared is that in the valuable studies of Dr. Kurt Sethe, whose knowledge of the early language is the most profound (*Beiträge zur Ältesten geschichte Aegyptens*, 1903). Not only must we accept all of his readings, but we must recognize the attention which he has given to the collateral arguments from the positions of tombs and of objects; in the use of archæological facts he is in advance of perhaps all other linguists. We do not need here to refer to papers which only recapitulate the arguments of others.

The ground is cleared by Dr. Sethe's accepting, after full discussion, five of the eight kings of the Ist dynasty and five of the IIInd dynasty, as they were identified in *Royal Tombs*. Thus Mena, Den, Azab, Semerkhet, Qa, Hotepsekhemui, Ranef, Baneter, Perabsen and Khasekhemui form a general framework which leaves only some separate questions to be further considered.

The first king in question is Narmer. The grounds for placing him next after Mena, instead of next before Mena as I had done, are two: (1) That he is shown wearing the crown of Lower Egypt as well as Upper Egypt. (2) That his style is intermediate between that of Mena and Zer. The first reason presupposes that no king

had claimed dominion in Lower Egypt before Mena. This is unlikely; for a king does not change his ancestral capital and establish great undertakings in a country which has been only just barely conquered by himself. The founding of Memphis was probably preceded by two or three reigns of conquest and consolidation in the Delta. The second reason must be reversed; so far from the style of Narmer being later than that of Mena, it is earlier. The type of the hawk was changing until the time of Zer, in which reign we see it always with the drooping tail, as also in all later monuments. Under Mena it appears frequently with the tail drooping (*R.T.*, ii, III, 1, 4, 5; IIIA, 5, 6, 12) and also horizontal. Under Narmer the tail is never drooping but always horizontal. Thus the hawk of Mena is intermediate between that of Narmer and of Zer.

Next, the form of the enclosure of the *ka*-name, on which the hawk stands, also varies. Under Zer it is always straight at the top; under Mena it is sometimes curved (*Abydos*, ii, IV); and under Narmer it is found much more curved (*R.T.*, ii, II, 3). Here again the style of Mena is intermediate between Narmer and Zer.

It is generally agreed that the style of work was increasing in fullness and complexity at that age. The tablets of Narmer are much simpler than those of Mena, and there were fewer objects of his found about the tombs. This again shows Narmer to be earlier than Mena.

Lastly, both Dr. Sethe and Mr. Griffith conclude that the name Ta alternating with that of King Zer, and Ath alternating with that of Zet, are the names of officia's, and not the names Teta and Ateth of those kings. It is certainly strange that an official should be named without his office, as the office is otherwise made the most prominent feature. If however this view be adopted, we must grant that Het on the seals of King Aha-Mena (*R.T.*, ii, XIV, 99) is the name of a vizier or an official, and it is found also separately on seal 116 with the title *hon*. And hence the name Men on seals of Narmer (seal 93) is likewise an official of Narmer. And is not the high official of Narmer, named Men, most likely to found the next dynasty as Men or Mena? We see then that by style Narmer precedes Mena, and a Mena is found as the only official known of the reign of Narmer.

Regarding the successors of Mena, the main question is that of Merneit. This person is regarded by Dr. Sethe as a queen, because

(1) he states that there is a feminine *t*, thus reading *mert*; (2) that there is no hawk over the name, which is not in a square; (3) because names compounded with Neit and Hathor were feminine in early times. To these reasons the answers are (1) that there is no certain case of reading *t*, and only one which is dubious; (2) that it is not a hawk-name but a personal name in any case, and there is not a single personal name of a king with a title before this, so no title would be expected here. Mer of Narmer, Mena, and often Setui, have no title; (3) it is an arbitrary criterion to fix when goddesses first appear in men's names; and such names as Merysekhet, Merybast, and Merseger are known in later times for men.

If this tomb is that of a queen she has to be identified with the queen of Den, on the ground that sealings of Den are the only ones found in the tomb. But, as I originally pointed out, not a single one of the 40 seals found used in the tomb of Den also appears among the 37 seals used in the tomb of Merneit. When we look at a supposed parallel case, the tomb of Neithetep in the reign of Mena, we see two seals out of six are the same as those used in the tomb of Mena. And when we compare the sealings of Merneit's tomb and of Den's tomb we see that those of Merneit are frequently of an earlier style, see seals Nos. 12, 18, 19, 29, 42, 43, 132, 134. The theory that Merneit was an heiress queen and therefore of particular importance is contradicted by there being no break in the dynasty here.

The position is not certain either way: but there is no evidence that Merneit was a queen. Against the difficulty of supposing that Merneit and Setui both took the *ka*-name Den, there is the equal difficulty otherwise of supposing that the whole seals of the kingdom, about 40 in all, were entirely different at the burial of Den's queen from what they were at the burial of Den himself. As all the other great tombs here, with pairs of steles at which offerings were made, were those of kings, the presumption is that this of Merneit is also that of a king.

Regarding the relative position of Zer and Zet, Dr. Sethe agrees that they are in this order, and between Mena and Den. Certainly Zer is closely linked to Mena by the form of the hawk on the bracelet in his tomb, and we should naturally place him next to Mena, as we have seen that Narmer is clearly earlier. Zet is shown to be next to Zer by the position of his tomb, which is quite certain as his great stele was found in it. If there be a gap yet unfilled in



the dynasty it appears to be between Zet and Den, just where the tomb of Merneit comes in the series. Thus there is nothing to contradict the whole order of the Ist dynasty as I originally arranged it. The possibility of Merneit being removed may eventually leave a gap, which there is nothing yet to fill.

We now turn to the great question of the pre-Menite kings. The very strange antipathy that some have shown to the existence of any kings before Menes depends on the force of prejudice. There were certainly many kings before Menes, or else he could not have been king of all Egypt; such a long land was not conquered in a single reign. That Menes should have had a fully-grown hieroglyph system proves that some earlier kings used and wrote inscriptions. That the pre-Menite kings of Lower Egypt are recorded—as agreed by all—on the Palermo stone, makes it most probable that pre-Menite kings of Upper Egypt should also be found, and indeed Dr. Sethe presumes that they were also on the same record. And as Menes went from Abydos to found Memphis, it is in the royal cemetery of Abydos that we should expect to find tombs of the pre-Menite kings. All of the presumptions of the case are in favour of finding tombs smaller and ruder than that of Menes, in the royal cemetery, and belonging to the earlier kings.



We have already seen that we must place Narmer into dynasty 0, by all the evidences that we have. Dr. Sethe also agrees that king Ka may belong to this age. An explanation of the group of Ka monuments has been started, supposing that they are only belonging to a *hat ka* or temple of the *ka* of some other king. But the name usually has the hawk on the top exactly like a Horus name of the later kings. The writing of the hieroglyph under the panelling is equal to writing in the doorway of the panelling, as by Narmer on his slate; it is seeing in at the door, instead of seeing over the wall, as was usual later on. And sometimes the Ka sign is written over the panelling, as on a jar (*Abydos*, i, III, 38). There is no reason then for treating this group of monuments differently to any others which have a king's name upon them. Moreover all of these examples of the name were found in a single tomb (except two scattered, one on either side of it); and this tomb is of smaller and ruder construction than those of Narmer and Mena. It does not stand in any structural relation to any other tomb; and there is no reason shown whatever why this tomb is to be treated differently to those of all other kings.



The rest of the inscriptions on the vases of Ka have been read as referring to the water of the south and north. But this reading is contradicted by the nature of the jars. These small cylindrical jars—the smallest kind placed in the royal tombs—were always used for ointment in all their descent through prehistoric times. Even when ointment failed they were filled with mud having a trace of ointment to scent them. To suppose that a regular form of jar always ritually used for ointment, and the smallest type in use, was appropriated for water, is contrary to all probability. There were plenty of great jars, the largest in the whole cemetery, in this tomb; and we cannot then suppose the small ointment jars to be used for the very commonest offering. If any better sense can be made of the reading than that of “King Ap,” and “Ha, wife of Ka,” I shall be very glad to have it; but to assign small ointment jars for water is too improbable. The use of the jars however does not in the least affect the actuality of king Ka.

The objections raised to king Ro are that the true Horus-name is always found in a square, whereas on the sealing and jars there is no square, but only the hawk and *Ro*. But as Dr. Sethe has pointed out, even under the well developed system of Narmer the royal name twice appears without any square, on the slate palette and ivory cylinder from Hierakonpolis. There is then no objection left. And what are the physical facts? There is a tomb like those of other kings, but not so large; and only in this tomb are found jars marked with the hawk and mouth (*R.T.*, i, XLIV, 2-9). The tomb must belong to some great personage, and the only marks on all the jars in it are these. Fragments of a sealing were found scattered about, with just the same group of signs, and these prove that this was a personal name. There is no trace of reason for trying to read these unmistakable hawks as the *ur* bird; the forms of the beak as well as the body are exactly the same as the hawk bird elsewhere. We have then a tomb like other royal tombs, and the only name is “Horus Ro.” We are bound to treat this the same as other Horus-names, and recognize a king Ro.

Next we must look at the title *nebui* or *nebti*  . There is no doubt that this is the equivalent of the double lordship of the vulture and uraeus, as written in later times. But this form of writing is distinctly the earlier. It occurs five times connected with the sign *sma*, which in any case is associated with the name of Neithotep the queen of Mena. It is seen four times in the reign of Zer,

once with the name Merneit, and once under the reign of Den. After that it is never found in the royal tombs; and only one instance later is quoted, in an archaic pyramid-text copied in the tomb of Unas, which was doubtless a very ancient composition, and does not prove any limit of age.

Now this *nebti*   title is found with the name of Zeser, which Dr. Sethe agrees is the name of a king. He refers it to King Zeser of the IIIrd dynasty. Against that view is first the use of this title, which was common at the beginning of the Ist dynasty and extinct by the middle of that dynasty; and secondly that there is no instance of the introduction of later offerings into any royal tomb here. The instance quoted of a piece of a bowl with the name of Perabsen found in the tomb of Merneit, is merely a case of an offering thrown out from the neighbouring tomb of Perabsen during late destructions. There is no tomb of Zeser here, nor any as late as his time, in which objects of his might have been left. And in the tomb of Zeser at Beyt Khallaf there were no bowls or inscriptions like this. There is thus no ground for any source of this object in the IIIrd dynasty. We must then obey the evidence of the early form of the title, and grant an earlier king Zeser as probable before the Ist dynasty. Narmer we have already dealt with above.

Lastly there is the sign *sma* with the   title. The alternative meaning proposed for this is the title *semaut nebti* "united to the king," which was that used by early queens. But there are six objects with only these signs, and but one instance of a queen's name with it. Is it likely that when marking objects for a queen, only her title should be used? On the other hand this is precisely like the *nebti zeser* which Dr. Sethe agrees is in any case a king's name. The case is not certain, but the analogy is all in favour of this being the name of a king Sma, "the uniter," a most likely name to be taken when the kingdom was in course of being united.

We can but conclude then that in each case the balance of evidence is in favour of the reality of each of the kings' names, Ka, Ro, Zeser, Narmer, and Sma; and, above all, not a single fact has been proved against their existence. The case then stands thus: it is highly probable that the kings who reigned before Mena were buried at Abydos, and at the royal cemetery there: in that cemetery, at the earlier part of it, we find tombs ruder and smaller than those of the Ist dynasty kings: in those tombs are pottery and other objects earlier in style than the Ist dynasty: and in one tomb is

only the name Ka, in another is only the name Ro, and scattered about these tombs are objects with the names of Zeser, Narmer, and Sma, all of them of styles as early as, or earlier than, Mena. Every evidence of style and locality agrees in pointing out these as the predecessors of Mena.

Of later times the name of Kha-sekhem is placed by Dr. Sethe in the IIIrd dynasty, on the ground that the group *Besh* is a personal name and in a cartouche; and, as no cartouche is known till the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty, this king cannot be earlier. But there is no evidence that this is a personal name, rather the contrary as it is the ring grasped in the vulture's claws. It is more likely connected with *Beshet* "to rebel," and refers to the rebels captured by the vulture in the war with the northerners which is named. (*Hierakonpolis*, xxxvii.) If so, there is no reason against this king belonging to the IInd dynasty, and presumably before Kha-sekhemui, as the name is simpler than his.



The name Ka-ra is also rejected from being Khaires on the same ground, of the absence of a cartouche in the IInd dynasty. But the choice lies between denying that Ka-ra is Khaires, and denying that we can be sure that a cartouche may not have been used two reigns before the time of Nebka. Too many criteria have been founded on our ignorance of the exact limit of usages, and have failed entirely when we had more examples. So it seems more likely that the cartouche was known a couple of reigns earlier than Dr. Sethe has yet found it, rather than reject so obvious a connection as Ka-ra and Khaires.

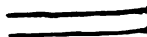
It appears then that one or two cases may remain open awaiting fresh evidence; but there is as yet not a single proof of error in the arrangement of kings which I put forward four years ago, and in only a case or two are we likely to be able to come to any different results.

AN UNPUBLISHED SCENE FROM THE TOMB OF THÛ AT SAKKARA, REPRESENTING THE MANUFACTURE OF SEALS.

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

During a recent visit to Strassburg Professor Spiegelberg drew my attention to a very interesting unpublished scene in the tomb of Thû at Sakkara, representing a seal-maker at work: this had unfortunately entirely escaped my notice until after the final sheets of my book on *Scarabs* had been passed for the press. The scene shows two men, one standing and slightly stooping towards the other, who is seated on a small mat on the ground. The seated man holds in his left-hand a cylinder-seal, and in his right a tool with long handle, with which he appears to be piercing a hole through the length of the cylinder: above him is an inscription reading:—*uz khetem ân khetemû*, "drilling a cylinder-seal by the seal-maker."¹ The standing figure has above it the legend "Theth-ta," perhaps the name of the man, and he carries in his left hand a cylinder-seal (?) and, as Professor Spiegelberg has suggested to me, a string for mounting it. Both men carry bags or pouches. The drawing published has been made from a plaster-cast in the Museum of the Institute of Egyptology at Strassburg.

¹ In my book *Scarabs*, p. 40, I have noted that the seal engraver was called *kesti*, but in the Thû inscription the name is given as *khetemû*. The hieroglyph  *kes* I believe represents the graving tool. The determinative of the word *uz*,  (see plate) seems to be a kind of boring tool: Griffith (*Ptahhetep I*, p. 36) has already suggested that it may be some "special kind of cutting tool?"



D.










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
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NOTE ON THE WORD KHETEMÿ, "A SEAL-MAKER."

BY PROFESSOR SPIEGELBERG.

The word    khetemÿ, "the seal-maker," is a formation with  ÿ derived from   khetem, "a seal," as, for instance, in the scene on the right hand of this one in the tomb of Thÿ    merÿetÿ, "an oil maker," is derived from merÿet, "oil."

The well-known title  "sealer" is in all probability to be read khetemÿ or khetemwtÿ, and is a *nomen agentis* of khetem "to seal" as    ÿ dÿhawty, "fighter," "male" ( 00077) is from dÿha, "fight." (Cf. *Recueil*, Vol. XVI, p. 192.) It probably means a man having the right to use a seal. From this one must, as Mr. Newberry has rightly conjectured (*Scarabs*, p. 33, note 2), separate   khetem·t "a contract."

From the above sense of khetemÿ it seems to me very unlikely that this word is a derivative with ÿ from khetme·t, "contract." Grammatically it would be possible, but the sense not being specially "contract sealer," but a "licensed sealer" in general, I think the above interpretation the most probable.

The reading of the title  tentatively proposed by Mr. Crum (*A.Z.*, XXXII, p. 65) and myself (*A.Z.*, XXXVI, p. 145 and XXXVII, p. 86) must now be abandoned and be replaced by the reading khetem(w)ÿ (htm(w)ÿ).

CHRONOLOGY OF AŠURBÂNIPAL'S REIGN.

B.C. 668-626.

IV.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, *M.A.*

THE "FORECAST" TABLETS.

In his *History of Assurbanipal*, G. Smith had already recognised the importance for history of certain "omen tablets," of which he gave extracts, from K 28, 159, 1360, 3161, etc. Since then the publication of the British Museum Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collections has made known many more. In the Fifth Volume of the Catalogue, p. 2016a, a list of 42 tablets is given, described as "Forecasts concerning the *GIR*, *NA*, *ŠI*, *IŠ-KU*, *LİB-NIGIN*², and *ĦAR*, etc., and containing a date." This class was not collected with any great care, as some of the numbers entered in it belong to an entirely different sort of tablet from the majority. But it includes all these "omen tablets" noted by G. Smith, and a number of others of the same sort.

Each of these documents, when complete, seems to have consisted of three parts, which I will term the Omens, the Enquiry, and the Colophon. In general idea they are very like the *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, published by Dr. J. A. Knudtzon. The Omens appear to have been taken from the observations by an augur made for the most part upon the liver of a sheep, or possibly of some other animal. The ideograms given above, *GIR*, etc., are, in my opinion, all intended to denote parts of this liver, or of the attached intestines. The Omens were deduced from the relative position, or "lie," of these organs or parts. As Professor Zimmern has shown in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, p. 84, it was the function of the *amêlu* *ĦAL*, the *bârû*, to perform this species of "hepatoscopic" augury. Dr. Knudtzon had already recognised the nature of these *ĦAR* omens as a sort of *haruspicum*. Boissier, in his Introduction

to the second section of his *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages*, and especially in his *Note sur un monument*, p. 12, had further recognised that the *HAR* was the "liver." It is also the case that Lenormant, in his *Choix des textes*, had called his No. 88, "*Augures tirés de l'inspection du foie des animaux*."

Many quite similar Omens will be found in Dr. Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sinnzngott*. A number of them are arranged in series on tablets, such as those published by Boissier, *Documents*, etc.

The Stele of Nabonidus, published afresh by Messerschmidt, in No. 1 of the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, contains a number of precisely similar Omens, in Col. VI.

These texts do not, as a rule, state what each omen portends ; they merely record the observed state of the liver, and perhaps of other entrails, examined. At the end of the omens the scribe sometimes enumerates "in all so many omens, *TAK-MEŠ*." Hence this section merely states the omens on the significance of which an opinion is asked of the oracle. What answer was returned we do not know, probably. But in some cases *ul řābu*, "it is not good," or perhaps, "is it not good?" has been added. Whether that is the remark of the augur observing the omens, or of the priest to whom they were submitted, is not clear. It could also refer to the troubles stated. To what oracle they were addressed does not appear, any more than to what Sungod the *Gebete* published by Dr. Knudtzon were sent. The omens, like the *Gebete*, are usually written in Babylonian script, and may have been addressed to the Sungod in some temple in Babylonia (at Sippara ?) But the tablets were found in Nineveh. If they were addressed to a god whose temple was there situated, it is difficult to see why Babylonian script was used. It would be unlikely that they were sent from Babylonia. On the other hand, we can hardly suppose that such enquiries were sent to a temple which was in the power of the enemy, concerning whose movements and plans information was asked.

Without a detailed study of this class of omen tablets it would be premature to attempt to establish a connection between the omens reported and the enquiries made. Doubtless the omens were supposed to guide the augur to a forecast of the outcome of the troubles, or anxieties, stated in the second section. But it is clear that the two sections are completely unrelated. It was not because of the inauspicious nature of the omens that the king was anxious, but because of the known facts, which caused his apprehension.

He registered the omens in the hope that they might contain, when properly interpreted, the answer to his question. They may therefore be quite safely left on one side, when our enquiry is simply what were the anxieties disturbing his mind at the time when he made his enquiry of the oracle.

The second section stated the cause of his anxiety ; or, at any rate, implied it in the question which he asks of the oracle. These references to public affairs constitute the value of this class of documents for our enquiry. "The enquiry" is usually written by the same hand as the omens. There is no case where the reply is entered. Hence I conclude that these tablets are copies kept of the enquiry sent. As these were found at Nineveh, I conclude the enquiries were sent elsewhere. In the few cases where the script is Assyrian throughout I imagine the copy sent was written in Babylonian. But this is only conjecture.

The third section, or "Colophon," contained the date, and the names of certain officials, clearly the augurs who observed the omens, and the place where these observations were taken. These officials are sometimes said to be *bârû*, or *rab bârê*. But more often they are described as *bêl tēmi*, clearly "sources of the information." Whether these were the messengers sent to give the information to the god, or, less likely, the sources of the news which caused the king's anxiety, cannot be decided. But the fact that the same names often recur at intervals too short to allow of their having visited the seat of action, renders it probable that the *tēmu* intended was the "Report" on the omens observed.

For a determination of the date of the Eponyms by a comparison with the events known to have occurred at or before certain dates, we need only to register the gist of the second and third sections. We have seen from independent sources that Babylon was "straitly shut up" and severely pinched by famine from B.C. 650 to at least Aaru B.C. 648. Now it appears from these documents that as late as Šabātu in the Eponymy of Sagab, Ašurbānīpal was still in uncertainty as to whether Šamaš-šum-ukīn had fled, or would flee, to Elam. At that date then the city could not have been securely invested. The pinch of famine could hardly be acute while there was still a chance of flight to Elam. This circumstance alone might not be deemed sufficient to date Sagab as Eponym for B.C. 651; but we shall see that it is almost impossible to place him earlier. It is, however, in the series of events which these tablets assign to

the Eponymy of Sagab that the full force of the conclusion lies. We had best therefore set out in order, month by month, the references which they give.

EVENTS IN THE EPONYMY OF SAGABBU.—On the 4th of Nisânu Ašur-dânin-šarri and Dannai, as *bêl tēmi*, report that auguries have been taken in the New Palace. The king's cause of anxiety is that Nabû-bêl-šumâte, the Sealander, not keeping his fealty to Ašurbânipal, has rebelled. Ašurbânipal too hears that "the bow," *i.e.*, the bowmen, have assembled in Elam, and come to fight with the soldiers, the army of Ašurbânipal, whether these be Assyrians or Akkadians, Kaldai or Aḥlami, who have submitted to Ašurbânipal. They are about to wage war, slaughter and battle. "It is not good." Ašurbânipal enquires therefore "whether in Elam or in his own land, the Sealand, he will stand, or whether in fear he will submit. So relates K. 159, published in G. Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 182; S. A. Smith, *Keilinschrifttexte Asurbanipals* III, p. 80 f. The war has begun. Ašurbânipal is already in possession of Akkad; the south of Babylonia and Elam have taken up arms for Šamaš-šum-ukîn. Whether the Kaldai are in rebellion yet, or are assumed to be faithful and so threatened by Elam, is not quite clear; probably they were threatened, but as yet faithful.

On the 26th of Aaru, Marduk-šum-ušur, Dannai, and Sin-šar-ibni, as *bêl tēmi*, send a report of auguries taken; see K. 102, published by Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages*, I, p. 47 f. Here the king's anxiety seems to be about his own health. Can it be that the cause of the rebellion, or rather its excuse, and the explanation of Ašurbânipal's long hesitation to deal with it, were really due to his own weak health?

In Âbu, a *rab BI-LUL*, a *mašmašu*, Marduk-šum-ušur, Dannai, and perhaps another, send a report of auguries taken at Arbela. The cause of the enquiry, however, does not appear. The section which contained the information, as well as the day of the month, is not preserved on this tablet, K. 396.

On the 8th of Âbu, Dannai, as *bêl tēmi*, sends a report of auguries. The king enquires whether, during the next month, from the 8th of this month Âbu to the 7th of Ulûlu, the Elamite forces will assemble and collect and join battle with the forces of Ašurbânipal. See K. 1360, G. Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 185. It seems likely, therefore, that up to this date Ašurbânipal had not yet fought with Elam in this war.

On the 11th of Tešrîtu, Ašur-dānin-šarri reports omens taken in the New Palace. The present cause of anxiety is not clear, K. 3791.

On the 15th of the same month Dāri-šarri and Dannai, as *bél tēmi*, send word that they pray the great gods daily to send counsels to the king. Ašurbānīpal had consulted the oracle about Šamaš-šum-ukīn, *aḫu lā kēnu*, "his faithless brother, who has disturbed," *idallahu*, and done some great wrong. His anxiety seems to be whether Šamaš-šum-ukīn has fled to Elam. See K. 4, published by G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 186; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals*, III, p. 77 f.

On the 17th of Araḫsamna, Ašur-dānin-šarri and another probably, as *bél tēmi*, send a report of auguries taken in the Bit Ridūte. The enquiry now is whether "on this date, when the forces of Ašurbānīpal come against Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the affair shall prosper in their hands?" See K. 3161, published by G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 188. Clearly this was the expected date of the first battle with Šamaš-šum-ukīn.

In Tebētu (day lost), on 82-5-22, 27, a similar report was sent, but the events cannot now be made out.

On the 27th of this month, on K. 1423, Danrai and Zizi, as *bél tēmi*, sent another report of the same class, but the events are not recorded.

On the 4th of Šabātu Marduk-šum-ušur sent the report 81-7-27, 136. On the same day Dannai, as *bél tēmi*, sends another report, see 82-5-22, 86. In neither case are the events clear.

On the 11th of Šabātu Bēl-ušalim and Baniā send the report K. 303. Šamaš-killāni, the *šakdu*, seems to have performed the augury. Only part of each line, relating to the enquiry, is preserved. It was apparently, "has Šamaš-šum-ukīn, *ša Bābili* gone out, has he fled?" Whether he was called "king of Babylon," or whether he was thought to have gone out of "the palace of Babylon," is not clear. The important point is that it was still possible for him to flee. The enquiry may be, "will he flee?"

On the 16th of Šabātu Dannai sends another report, K. 392, naming Sin-tabni-ušur, probably the son of Nikkal-iddina, who was the subject of enquiry on K. 28, published by G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 185. There, in Du'uzu, the day is not preserved, Sin-tabni-ušur seems to have gone over to Šamaš-šum-ukīn's side. So also on K. 4696, a similar report, quoted by G. Smith, p. 184, shows that on the 11th of Ābu, Sin-tabni-ušur, son of Nikkal-iddina,

who had been set over Ur, had sympathised with Šamaš-šum-ukin. G. Smith completes the date as in this Eponymy. If so, the notice on K. 28 also refers to this year, and K. 321 perhaps refers to a battle with him. That would probably indicate that Ašurbânipal's army had completely hemmed Šamaš-šum-ukin in within the walls of Babylon, and a portion of the forces was able to penetrate as far south as Ur.

There are a few other similar reports dated in this Eponymy which do not preserve the month. The most important is Bu. 91-5-9, 208, sent by an augur whose name ended in *-nûri*. Šamaš-šum-ukin was still alive. The petition is that "the soldiers, horses, and forces of Ašurbânipal, *lišrimmu*, *likpidu*, etc.," following the formula of the petitions in Knudtzon, *G.A.S.*, p. 75, etc. A *madaktu* is named, seemingly situated at Bâb-sâme. The question is asked "whether they shall engage in battle with the forces of Šamaš-šum-ukin, and what shall be the result." The king seems also to have asked *ardû*? "shall I go down?" Perhaps up to that date Ašurbânipal had not been actually present with the army. On K. 93 is a list of slaves, or perhaps refugees, in lines 12 *f* we find two people from Bâb-sâme named, and in line 23 a woman, wife or perhaps widow, of Iddûa, a *rab bânûti* of Bâb-sâme. These are reckoned as among thirteen Babylonians. Thus Bâb-sâme was in or near Babylon. From the above we gather that it was the place where Šamaš-šum-ukin made his final stand against the army of his brother. K. 93 probably shows the result of that battle; the Assyrians took these people captive, after defeating Šamaš-šum-ukin. K. 93 is published by S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, p. 15.

K. 375 is a report of this class from Dannai as *bêl tēmi*. K. 385 is from Ninûai, *rab bârê* and *bêl tēmi*. The auguries were taken in the Bit Ridûte. K. 401 was from a *rab bârê* and *bêl tēmi* taken in the New Palace. K. 1611 preserves no name. 83-1-18, 759 is also from Ninûai, the *rab bârê* and *bêl tēmi*, taken in the Bit Ridûte. None of these register the events which called them forth. No doubt when the complete set of these tablets is published many "joins" will result and the events become much clearer.

Now this sort of report was still being sent in the Eponymy of Bêl-Harrân-šadûa. But there is no later mention of Šamaš-šum-ukin. For a good reason. He was clearly shut up in Babylon. The Assyrian army had invested the city and finally they starved it out. The siege might last for years, but Šamaš-šum-ukin could cause no further

anxiety. On the 5th of Aaru, in the Eponymy of Bêl-Ḫarrân-ša-dûa, Ašurbânipal sent his proclamation to the Sealanders, announcing the appointment of Bêlibni to rule over them. Nabû-bêl-šumâte had fled to Elam. The rebellion in the South was at an end. This agrees with the view that already in Šabâtu, in the Eponymy of Sagabbu, Sin-tabni-ušur was driven out of Ur.

Now let us place the Eponymy of Bêlšunu in B.C. 648. This necessitates placing Sagabbu in B.C. 651. All the indications of date fall into place easily. In Araḥsamna, B.C. 651, the first great battle was fought, Šamaš-šum-ukin was defeated, and took refuge in Babylon. Whether or not this was the battle of Bâb-sâme, is still uncertain. But there at any rate the forces of the rebel brother were defeated. Time and again a defeated king of Babylon had retreated after his defeat, and so escaped vengeance. This was still possible till the 11th of Šabâtu, early in February, B.C. 650. Soon after, the chain of encircling posts was closed and the siege began. By the 13th of Araḥsamna the people of Babylon had stood a nine months' siege, and the inhabitants used the language of extreme distress. But it lasted the whole of B.C. 650. For in Du'uzu, and Tebêtu of the next year the same distress prevailed. Babylon must have been well provisioned to have lasted so long. In Aaru, B.C. 648, an extremity was reached that could not possibly last much longer. It seems that two months later a cylinder could be finished in Assyria without reference to the capture. But this may have been commenced directly after its duplicate, dated in Du'uzu and so nearly completed before the news arrived that it was impossible to alter the text. This very fact may well account for these broken cylinders not having been found buried in their niches. They were rendered obsolete by the march of events, stored in the library, and utilised to serve as drafts for fuller copies. Those fuller copies exactly repeated many phrases, word for word.

On a review of the evidence, it seems impossible that Sagabbu should be as late as B.C. 650, for the state of siege known to exist in Araḥsamna that year would then be inconsistent with the possibility of escape from the city as late as Šabâtu in the Eponymy of Sagab. We cannot place him before B.C. 651 without displacing either Mannu-ki-šarri or Šarru-lû-dâri, whose presence there is demanded by the connected nature of Group III. Consequently there can be

little doubt that Sagabbu was the Eponym of B.C. 651. This fixes all the Eponyms of Group III from B.C. 658 to B.C. 649.

Consequently we know exactly all the Eponyms down to B.C. 649, the only uncertainty left being whether Mannu-ki-šarri precedes or follows Šarru-lû-dâri. The first Eponym of Group III follows immediately after the last Eponym of Groups I and II. This is borne out by a careful examination of the traces on K. 4389A above Ša-Nabû-šû. While they are not distinct enough to suggest a name, they correspond exactly with the traces which would be left by Silim-Ašur.

This is the arrangement which Professor C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 389, has already proposed. But his argument depended upon conclusions drawn from the restored last column of Cylinder B, which seemed to necessitate placing Bêl-šunu in B.C. 648. We do not yet know what were the contents of that column. But assuming that the duplicates of Cylinder B were practically identical as regards the contents of that last column, we can restore it, as is done in III R.

Dr. Winckler has subjected the cylinder inscriptions of Ašurbânipal to a critical examination, so far as it is possible to do without taking the cylinders out of the show cases. This he set out in his *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*.

We must, however, await the promised critical edition of these cylinders by the Museum authorities before we can estimate Tiele's argument at its true worth. If cogent, it adds an element of security to our results, but they are strong enough without it.

We now note that K. 4773 (A.D.D. No. 927) necessitates our placing Nabû-šar-aḫêšu six years after Sagabbu. There we read, Col. II, lines 5-7, *irbu ša limme Sagab adi limme Nabû-šar-aḫêšu, ša VI šanâle*, "income from the Eponymy of Sagab to the Eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫêšu, of six years." The only question which can arise here is whether the six years include one or both of the two named Eponymies, that is, whether we are to place four or five names between them. Apart from the usages of the Assyrian scribes, the number of claimants for the places vacant seems decisive for five intermediate Eponyms. Of these we know the first two from Group II. Independently of Tiele's arguments above, Bêl-šunu must, as his name list shows, precede Nabû-šar-aḫêšu. There is not room then for either Group IV or V. Allowing weight to Tiele's arguments, until certainty on the point can be obtained, we

place Bêl-šunu in B.C. 648, and now have two vacant places to fill, B.C. 647 and B.C. 645. The arguments for the provisional filling up of these places will be given later.

For later years we depend upon the affinities of the name lists, linking together groups and gradually filling up a list which cannot be far displaced, on account of the necessity that lies upon us not to overpass the limits of Ašurbânipal's reign.

THE MAGIC IVORIES
OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

BY F. LEGGE.

PART II.

Since the appearance, in the *Proceedings* of May last, of the paper on these objects, I have been successful in obtaining communication of three others, all bearing inscriptions, and all of some importance. It seems it would be for the convenience of other scholars that these should be published at once, without waiting—as I should otherwise have preferred to do—until the collection is complete. I therefore give an account of them as nearly as possible on the lines of the former paper.

*Description of the Plates.*¹

PLATE I. No. 46.

This beautiful wand comes from the collection of Mr. G. M. Hood, of Nettleham Hall, Lincoln, who has kindly allowed me to have it photographed. No record of its provenance appears to have been kept. The series of figures on its obverse differs somewhat from most of those given in my former paper, in the fact that it does not represent, as do the others, a procession from one end of the wand to the other, some of the figures being turned about so as to face the rest. Starting from the blunt end or base of the tusk, we have first the *utchat* or mystic eye common on these wands, and then a great *uraeus* or cobra with distended hood and undulated body facing outwards. Then comes what I have before called the Anubis-term, with the wig or tress of hair curled round the post, and more distinctly shown than in other cases. The head of this

¹ The Nos. follow on from those attached to the figures in my former paper.

term faces inwards or towards the other extremity of the wand, as do the two figures which follow. These are a hippopotamus' head in a square frame with a smaller square in the corner like that appearing in the ideograph of Hathor. If we may interpret this by analogy with the latter sign, it might be taken as "the house of the hippopotamus," whether Isis, Ta-urt, Ririt, or some other goddess is represented by this last. Immediately below this is to be seen the hind quarters of an animal which, from the spiral curls of its tail and the cat-like bend of the hind-leg, should be a feline, and is probably the snake-necked panther so often found both on these wands and on the carved slates. At this point the wand is unfortunately broken, a fragment of 1 to 2 inches in length being evidently missing. The remainder of the wand shows the head and arm of a human figure lying on its back, the head being that of a bearded man maintained in a painful position by a lion upright on his hind-legs, who grasps the hair of the victim in his left paw. Above him can be seen a curved line, which seems to show that some person or animal was represented on the missing fragment as bending over the supine man. On comparing this with the obverse of the wand from the Louvre, which appears on Fig. 8 (Pl. VI) in my former paper, it will, I think, appear probable that this was a reproduction of the scene there enacted, where the hippopotamus with the crocodile on her back is shown as breathing into the mouth of a prisoner. Behind and following the lion comes the hawk-headed and winged feline that I have before called the chimaera, but this time without the human head between the wings. Then appears the Anubis-term with a knife at its foot, and a seated, and perhaps mummified body, bearing the head of a long-eared animal, who is either the ass or the conventional form of the Set animal, while the pointed end of the wand closes the series with another *utchat*. The arrangement of the figures leads to the conjecture that those relegated to the ends of the wand are merely accessory to the principal scene which occupies the centre. This would appear to be the case also with the Louvre wand, where the group of hippopotamus and prisoner also forms the centre of the composition. The collocation of *utchat*, snake-necked panther, and jackal-headed term is also common to both, as is the square frame, if we are prepared to assume that the one of which the remains can still be seen on the Louvre wand once contained a hippopotamus' head. To the meaning to be attached to this I will return later.



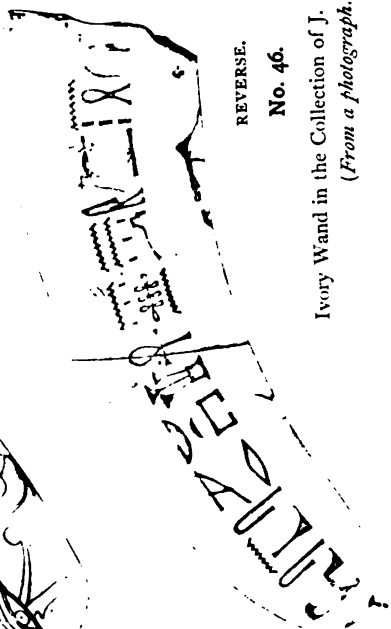
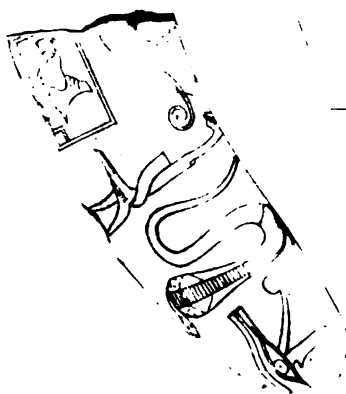
OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

No. 46.

Ivory Wand in the Collection of J. M. Hood, Esq.
(From a photograph.)

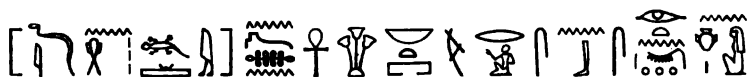


The reverse of the wand, which helps us to determine the size of the missing fragment, bears the following inscription :—



“The many protectors say : we have come, we afford protection for life around the Lady of the house Mer-senb-s.”

Then comes the break in the ivory, and then, written the reverse way to the foregoing, the same formula with but slight variation :—



“[The many protectors say:] we have come, we afford protection for life around the Lady of the house Mer-senb-[s], daughter of Nub-n-ab.”

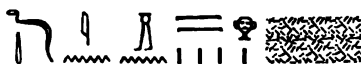
These “vain repetitions” are extremely characteristic of the work of Egyptian magicians, who in all ages seem to have been nervously anxious lest they should accidentally omit any part of spells which doubtless conveyed very little meaning to either their writers or readers, and who therefore repeated them backwards, forwards, and even anagrammatically to make sure that they had preserved the essential syllables and letters. The carving on the wand is an excellent example of the best XIIth Dynasty work, the figures and hieroglyphs being as sharp as when first cut. In this also it is worth comparison with the Louvre wand, which is perhaps the best and most finished of all those given in my former paper.

PLATE II. No. 47.

This is from the Edwards Collection at University College, London, and I owe the sketch here reproduced to the kindness of Miss Murray, who had taken it as an illustration of a paper she is shortly to read to the Society. As the other wands were published by me, she has very kindly consented that this should also be included in the present paper, although I hope to supplement it later by a photograph. The obverse shows at its broader

end a figure which is almost certainly intended for the god Bes in his usual full-face attitude, and the remains of a curved line extending upward from his right hand, seems to indicate that he was here depicted in his usual occupation of strangling snakes. Next there comes a lion upright on his hind legs, holding by his left arm a human figure whose neck he appears to be biting. The head of the man has apparently been bitten or cut off, and is depicted in front of him. Following on this comes another full-faced figure, which may be another representation of the god Bes, traces of the lion's mask being visible above the head. This figure also appears to have held a snake in each hand, and is followed by a tremendous *uracus* whose body appears in six waves. From the crest of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of these undulations rises a human head with what appears to be a *uracus* on the forehead and a pendant wig. Without being an exact replica of any of them, this serpent reminds one much of *Djas-ho*, son of Sokaris and the other monstrous serpents found in the Book of the Underworld.

On the reverse can be seen, nearly effaced, the figure of the god Bes, holding a serpent in each hand, the tail of the lion's skin that covers him being still to be seen between the legs. Then comes a vertical column of hieroglyphs, much effaced in the sketch, from which can be made out with certainty only a few signs, the first of which are thrown over into the succeeding panel :—

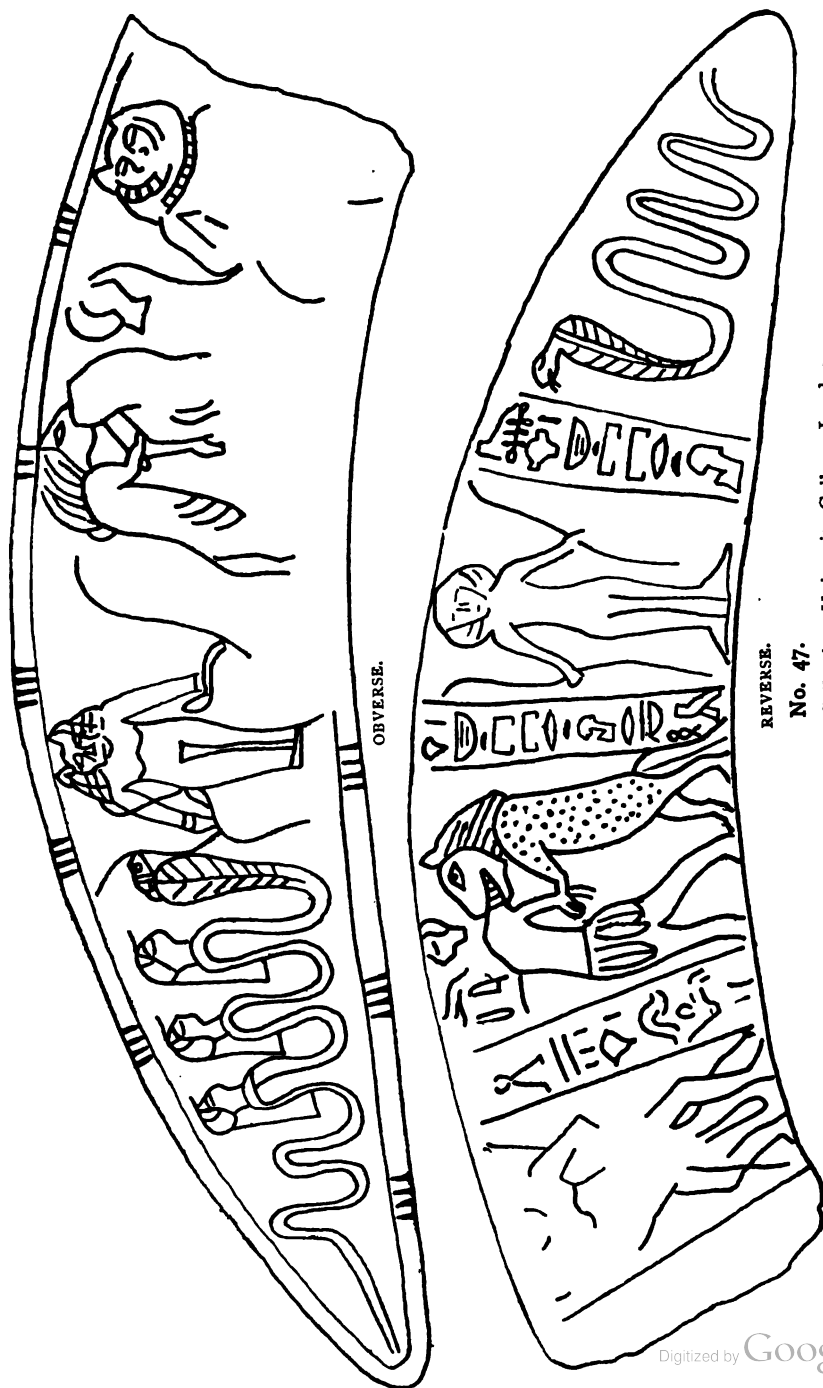


“ . . . Say : we bring [protection ?] ”

In the succeeding panel is the scene, that also appears on the obverse, of a lion on his hind-legs holding by the left arm and gnawing the shoulder of a human figure in a kilt, the head being detached from the body, and, at a little distance above it, there follows another column of hieroglyphs :—



“ [. ?] for the lady of the house Pert. May thy name turn back . . . ”

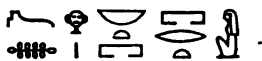


REVERSE.

No. 47.

Ivory Wand in the "Edwards" Collection, University College, London.
(From a drawing by Miss M. A. Murray.)

In the next panel appears a full-faced figure with a serpent in each hand, which may be yet another representation of the god Bes, and then a final column of hieroglyphs:—






“Protection for the lady of the house Pert.”















while the point of this face of the wand is filled with a *uracus* in three waves. Judging from the sketch, the execution of the work upon the wand is extremely poor, and it has evidently suffered much from ill-usage. No record of its provenance has been kept, but Miss Murray tells me that she has found an inscription in a work of Prof. Lieblein's from a stele which contains at once the name of Pert and that of Nehi. This therefore completes the reading of the wand Fig. 7 (Pl. V) in my former paper, which we can now see terminates with the word Pert, and this makes it probable that this like the other was found at Gournah.² It also leads me to discard my earlier opinion as to the interpretation by M. Daressy of the lion on Fig. 7 as being in the act of devouring somebody or something, and this last will probably now be thought the true one.

PLATE III. No. 48,

PLATE IV. No. 48*.

This wand comes from the magnificent collection of the Rev. William MacGregor, at Bolehall Manor House, Tamworth, who has been kind enough to supply me with photographs, from which the reproduction in the Plates has been made. There is no record of its provenance. The wand is much mutilated, only two fragments remaining, which are not continuous. The similarity of execution, particularly of the hieroglyphics found on both obverse and reverse, is sufficient, however, to assure us that both fragments once formed part of the same wand. Beginning with the pointed end of the tusk, at which the inscription commences, the obverse bears first the seated frog which in my former paper I have called Heqet. Then appear the signs , , , which may be read *Shetou*, or as

² Gournah, it should be noticed, is near Thebes, which confirms my view as to the strictly limited area of production for these wands.

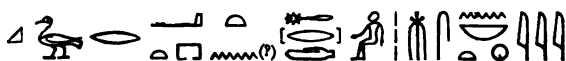
M. Maspero (cf. *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXVII, 139, n. 32) writes it, *Shodou*, the tortoise or turtle which follows on the wand, and which is, as mentioned in the note referred to, a constellation figure. Then follow the signs , , and another one which looks like , but is omitted the next time the word is repeated. This name or word should read *Ar*, and should be by analogy the name of the animal which follows, which is usually written    or *Apet*, but is here probably to be read *Arret*, a manifest variant of Ririt. These signs are followed by the hippopotamus-goddess, with either the crocodile or an unusually large and distinct tress of hair on her back. Then come the signs   , reading apparently *hesem*, an anagram or palindrome of *mahes*, "le lion fascinateur," while the wand here breaks off with the figure of a lion upright gnawing a snake. When it resumes, we have first the crocodile with curved tail that we have seen on many of the other wands, then the hippopotamus gnawing a snake and preceded by the signs , , this time clearly reading *Ar*. Then come the signs , , and then, much effaced, the figure of a lion upright, with, behind him, the sign  just visible. Generally it may be said that these signs on the obverse, although intelligible, have been badly blundered.

The reverse of the wand, reading from tip to base, bears the following inscription:—



"Say: Cut off the head of the enemy"

and the other fragment:—



"Who invades the house of the children born of the lady . . ."

The execution of this wand also is poor, and the signs are cut without much attention to proportion or accuracy.



No. 48.

OBVERSE.

Ivory Wand in the Collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor.

(From a photograph.)



No. 48*.

REVERSE.

Ivory Wand in the Collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor.
(*From a photograph.*)

The Meaning of the Figures.

If the reader agrees with my conjecture as to the missing part of No. 46, he will, I think, also agree that the principal scene depicted on this, on No. 47, and on the Louvre fragment, Fig. 8, is a prisoner suffering violence at the hands—or rather the teeth—of, in two cases, a lion, and in the third a hippopotamus. Nos. 8 and 46 also, as we have noticed, have above this the square frame containing the hippopotamus' head, and this may possibly be construed as meaning that the scene is supposed to take place within "the house of Ririt" or Isis. Whether "the enemy" here shown in process of decapitation is the same as "the enemy" mentioned in the inscription on No. 48*, there is no means at present of deciding, but the idea is worth bearing in mind. It is still possible that the "enemy" may be merely a figurative way of referring to poisonous snakes in general, as a phylactery against which, I have before said, most of the wands described earlier seem to have been made. As the representatives of Apep, the great serpent of darkness, they were, of course, the enemies of the Sun-god Ra, and therefore in even the XIIth Dynasty of all the gods of the Osirian cycle, including Ra's special ally and great magician Isis. But the beards of the victims on Nos. 8 and 46, and the flat cap of No. 8, seem to point to a less symbolic and more actual enemy, such as the Bedouin or Semites, who must then have been beginning to make raids into Egypt. Doubtless the magicians who made these wands for sale were willing to guarantee their power as a protection against one danger as well as another. But before going further into this subject I propose to wait until I have in my hands some further examples which I hope to publish shortly.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, January 10th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Miss M. A. Murray: "The Astrological character of the Egyptian Magic Wands."

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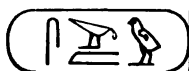
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